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Editor's Notes

Training, local government and higher education form the theme of this issue.

Large numbers from the Third World receive training in Britain each year, aimed at improving their competence and skills with which to serve their countries when they return home. Less satisfactory has been the follow-up to help those trained to keep up-to-date with development in their particular fields of work. In this number Jennie Dey examines the results of a questionnaire survey sent to some 200 former students at the Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre, Reading. She concludes that there is a real need for an information service which could, inter alia, provide periodical examples of the application to extension work of various theories on planning, co-ordination and communication.

Messrs Reithaug, Miriti and Andreou are concerned with planning for and in the co-operative movement and they too see a very real need for concentration on the provision of information to those participating in the planning and development of co-operatives.

We include in this number the second part of Roger Tangri's article on local government in Sierra Leone, in which the contemporary scene is examined. As he points out Chiefdom Administration is rather a matter of politics than of Government. Political dependence on chiefs has meant political reluctance to reform the local government system; however the hope is expressed that with the introduction of a One-Party system, the door may at last be open for the rationalisation of local government which has long been delayed.

R. S. Chaudhry wrote his somewhat despairing article on Indian local government before the 1977 triumph for democracy at the national level. The author argues that in the circumstances of an emergent nation new democratic institutions tend to fall all too fully into the hands of a power-building bureaucracy. If the whole country, however, eschews authoritarianism, then there must be a reasonable chance of genuine democracy prevailing at local level.

Finally, Amon Nsekela discusses, from considerable personal experience, the role of a Third World University, stressing how vital it is for such a university to produce 'graduates committed to the people's political, economic and social goals'. He looks also to support from the older universities of the West and few surely will deny the justice of his appeal for openings (at the older Institutions) being given to developing countries 'at no cost, and not at enhanced fees, as the present trend in the West seems to be'.

Information for Effective Extension Services: A survey of extension workers' access to and use of publications on rural development

JENNIE DEY*

Extension services have often been criticised for lack of effectiveness in bringing about rural change. The most commonly discussed problems focus on organisational inadequacies, training and selection of extension personnel, motivation of personnel, choice of extension strategies, and the appropriate content of extension programmes.[1] These are undoubtedly real problems. But little attention has been given to the problem of keeping extension workers in touch with the literature on practical and theoretical developments in their various specialisms.

Since 1965 the Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre of the University of Reading has been running a variety of courses for serving officers of rural extension services and teachers of extension workers, almost all of whom work in Third World countries. While the majority work in agricultural extension services, officers from the other major extension services concerned with community development, home economics, health and literacy are increasingly coming to these courses, which cover issues of rural social structure and social change (from psychological, sociological and anthropological perspectives), communications, programme planning, management, and evaluation. As part of its policy to maintain contact with former students, the Centre has recently established an Information Service. One aim of the Service is to produce a series of pamphlets on selected issues which are of concern to people working in rural development programmes. These pamphlets are intended to be problem-oriented and to synthesize and analyse some of the latest publications in the social sciences which are of relevance to problems of rural development. However, since many of the original publications are rather theoretical and general in nature, it is proposed to attempt to apply the essence of such studies to suggesting possible new solutions or strategies for dealing with the most pressing problems facing the rural extension worker. This would also mean that, through the Information Service, the Centre would be continuing and

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[1] See, for example, E. Ronald Watts, 'Reaching East Africa's Farmers', *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol XII, No 2, April 1973, pp 112-124.

extending the basic knowledge and skills in the social sciences to which it had introduced the students during their courses.

Informal contacts with both current and ex-students of the Centre indicated three specific constraints under which the Information Service would be operating. First, current and former students both stated that they experienced difficulties in finding, in their own countries, relevant documents and books on rural development. In particular, it seemed that this lack was especially acute in the case of those who had been posted to rural areas. Although it is quite understandable that these workers would so suffer, it is at the same time especially regrettable that this should be the case, as the field-worker, often isolated, is the person who most needs to be kept in touch with developments in extension work.

Second, it seems that little has been written in the way of applying research and theory in the social sciences to the practical problems facing the extension worker. Most publications in the social sciences – whether journal articles or books – tend to be rather 'academic', while the typical ex-student of the Centre has followed only a brief introductory course in sociology, psychology, or communications. This means that, even if he or she had the time, it would be difficult for him or her to sift through the literature – were it available – in order to abstract and apply what may be essentially 'academic' studies to the daily problems of practical extension work.

Third, most of the ex-students are primarily engaged in practical work and have little time for extensive reading. But their work, we anticipated, would involve some amount of teaching of one sort or another, so that it would be important for them to keep up-to-date in the subjects of their professional specialisations. The functions of instruction and teaching are so vital a part of extension work that the relevant skills and knowledge cannot be allowed to lapse into obsolescence. Clearly, 'refresher' courses, even once every ten years, would prove to be too expensive a solution. We felt, therefore, that the Centre should try to fill a gap in the circle of communication which should be reaching workers in rural development. It seemed imperative, therefore, first of all to ascertain what our ex-students were doing and what needs they felt could most usefully be served by the Centre's proposed Information Service. To this end, the Centre sent a questionnaire to ex-students designed to elicit this, and other, relevant information.

The questionnaire

Questionnaires were sent to 197 former students of the Centre. Sixty-eight replies were received, giving an overall response rate of 35 per cent. While a response rate of 35 per cent is not very satisfactory, it is also not unreasonable for a questionnaire of this type, in view of the unreliable postal services in some countries and the possibility that some ex-students will have been given new postings after completing their courses at the Centre and will have new addresses. Furthermore, the resulting sample of 68 is not a small one in terms of absolute size, and the respondents were at least geographically widely distributed across developing countries. The majority of the respondents work in Anglophone countries in Africa and Asia. The rest work

in a variety of countries such as Thailand, Indonesia and Mexico. Altogether, the respondents came from a total of 39 different countries.

Areas of professional specialisation

The questionnaire asked respondents to indicate their professional specialisations by ticking appropriate items on a detailed list of possible specialisations. Professional specialisations in the categories of 'Education' and 'Agriculture' were mentioned most frequently: 48 respondents are specialised in 'Education' and 39 in 'Agriculture'. The numbers of respondents with other specialisations are lower: 22 respondents are specialised in 'Social Sciences'; 20 in both 'Communications' and in 'Community Development'; and 16 in 'Health/Home Economics'. Few specialisations were mentioned in the other broad categories.

On average, 2.5 specialisations were mentioned per respondent. This clearly indicated the multi-disciplinary nature of the respondents' work. However, a more detailed analysis of the respondents' replies shows that, firstly, more than two-thirds (48) of the respondents are engaged primarily in educational activities, with a specialisation in one or more aspects of communications providing an additional, supporting skill. Secondly, the majority of the respondents are engaged in the teaching or communication of disciplines such as Agriculture, Agricultural Extension, and to a lesser extent, Health/Home Economics, the Social Sciences or Community Development.

Since Education received significantly more mention than any other category, it seems useful to breakdown further the types of educational activities that respondents are engaged in. The replies indicated that 47 per cent and 54 per cent of all respondents are engaged, respectively, in pre-service and in-service training of extension workers. The categories of 'Non-formal adult training' and 'Courses of technical instruction' for the rural population (e.g. in agriculture, home economics etc.) also received significant numbers of responses, with 32 and 31 per cent of all respondents engaged in these activities respectively. Thirteen per cent were involved in 'Non-formal youth training', while only 9 per cent and 12 per cent were engaged in literacy teaching and vocational training respectively.

More than half the 48 respondents with educational specialisations are involved in both training extension workers and running extension programmes for rural people. Just under one-third are engaged in the training of extension workers only, and only 7 out of 48 are concerned with teaching rural people exclusively.

Table 1 gives an estimate of the proportion of the respondents' time spent working directly with rural people. Thirty-five respondents, or just over half the sample, have little direct contact with rural people, although the objectives of their work are to improve some aspects of the living conditions of rural inhabitants. The remaining 33 respondents work closely with rural people, and often for much of their working day.

The need for an Information Service

We did not specifically ask the ex-students if they felt that the proposed Information

Service would be of use to them in their work, since we felt that this would only elicit a polite 'yes' in most cases and that an actual reply was, *ipso facto*, a proof of interest.

Table 2 shows, in summary form, two pervading features of all the questions designed to elicit information on access to, and use of, publications relevant to the ex-students' work.

In the first place, a sizeable minority of one-third of the respondents had made no use of published material in the previous three months. This, we suspect, is mainly due to lack of access to material, as we shall later see this feature emerging in the answers to other questions; it was indeed evident in the written comments which we invited in one or two questions.

In the second place, however, two-thirds of the respondents had used some published material in the previous three months, and this is encouraging because it shows that the proposed publications of the Information Service would almost certainly be used by the majority of those receiving them.

The questionnaire contained questions designed to help us ascertain what sorts of gaps the Information Service could most usefully fill. Conversely, we wished to try and avoid duplicating existing information available to ex-students. The questionnaire asked respondents a series of questions about their access to publications from various well-known sources of information on rural development, such as publications of the United Nations, governmental aid-giving organisations, non-governmental voluntary organisations, and any other books and/or journals published outside their own countries. Respondents were asked to name those publications from these sources which they read regularly, and they were then asked to indicate whether or not they could find these publications in the library at work, in a university/college library, in a public library, or in their own collection. Two further questions in this series asked respondents what books and other publications they had read in the last three months, apart from internal work reports, and, finally, what use they had made of published material, *if any*, in the last three months.

We have argued that the answers tabulated in Table 2 may indicate that many respondents may not have access to relevant material. This conclusion is confirmed by Table 3, which shows the number of respondents without access to publications of the most well-known groups of organisations publishing material on rural development. One-third of respondents have no access to publications of the United Nations; over two-thirds of respondents have no access to publications either of governmental aid-giving organisations or of non-governmental voluntary organisations; just over one-quarter have no access to books or journals published outside their own countries.

Table 4 further demonstrates the unavailability of publications in most of the countries represented. A large number of respondents seem to use mainly publica-

tions in their own collection. Given the expense and difficulty of regularly purchasing literature so as to keep up-to-date, this fact suggests that most respondents may suffer from inadequate access to publications. Half the respondents can find relevant publications in the library at their work. But, judging from Table 4, university/college libraries and public libraries are not particularly well supplied with relevant literature: this is more surprising in the case of university/college libraries than for public libraries.

Respondents were then asked to give the titles of books and other publications they had read in the previous three months, apart from internal work reports. Table 5 shows that 18 respondents, or 26 per cent of the total, had not read anything. A further 21 respondents had read between one and three publications, while the remaining 29 respondents had read four or more publications. Again this is evidence of substantial reading by some of the ex-students, and little reading by others.

We also found that the three categories of books most commonly read were books on agriculture, on extension/communications, and on rural development in general. Books on economics, sociology and anthropology were the next most popular categories. It is not surprising, of course, that the respondents should be reading books dealing with extension and communications, but it is remarkable that subjects as 'abstract' as sociology, anthropology and economics should be so popular among readers. This is perhaps a pointer to the need for the Information Service to provide publications not only on the specific technicalities of extension work, but also to produce the occasional more general and wider-ranging publication synthesizing the work of sociologists, anthropologists, and economists, and explaining the relevance of such studies to the extension workers' own duties.

The lists of publications read by respondents were either in English or in the respondents' own mother tongue. It would seem useful to refer to, or to summarise, relevant publications in other European languages. It seems unfortunate, for example, that respondents working in Anglophone West Africa should be unaware of current research and publications on extension in Francophone West Africa.

The data suggest that much of the reading is done by the respondents who are engaged in teaching or planning, or who occupy high level administrative positions, while the respondents in the category of 'extension officer' do rather little reading. Among the extension officers who do read professionally-oriented literature, there is evidence of a wide range of reading.

Table 6 is intended to make several substantive points about the range of application of published material by respondents. It is highly significant that only four out of twenty Senior Administrators make no use of publications (this corresponds with the 20 per cent in this category who had not read anything in the last three months). It seems also that senior administrators deliberately select and read material that has practical application to their work. If the Information Service were to provide this category of respondent with relevant material they would most probably use it.

It is surprising that as many as eleven out of thirty-one (35 per cent) of the category of respondents engaged in lecturing, training, research or evaluation, make no use of published material, in view of their obvious need of material for the 'content' of their lectures. This may well reflect the relative unavailability of relevant publications, as the evidence of Table 4 is that university and college libraries are not particularly well supplied with publications on development in most respondents' countries: 60 per cent of all respondents could *not* find well-known publications in development studies in university or college libraries. If it is accepted both that this educational category of respondents has relatively poor access to publications, and also that one would expect an intensive use of published material given the nature of their work, the Information Service could reasonably anticipate that this category of respondents would make considerable use of relevant pamphlets.

Of the 'Extension Officer' category of respondents in Table 6, as many as 53 per cent (nine out of seventeen) make no use of published material. Since many of these respondents are posted to rural areas, they are, no doubt, seriously deprived of appropriate publications, even if these are available in the capital cities. It seems that the Information Service could fill an important gap in providing material for this category of respondent.

So far we have established that the majority of respondents have poor access to published materials on development studies. The information on the actual use of available publications permits us only to anticipate the use respondents *would* make of publications if either they had greatly improved access to material, or if more directly relevant literature were especially supplied. We have, therefore, only established the need for publications in general. The next section turns to the question of what these publications should contain.

Respondents' priorities on topics

In order to ascertain the most useful topics on which pamphlets could be written, we constructed four questions, each focussing on different aspects or dimensions of rural development work. One dimension covered topics describing and analysing the rural social structure and rural institutions (Table 7). These topics would require an inter-disciplinary treatment, using material from studies in economics, sociology and economic anthropology. A second question was devised to be used in conjunction with the former. We specifically asked respondents if they thought it would be useful to them were we to analyse the topics listed in the first question within the framework of all or any of the eight concepts listed and defined (Table 8). These concepts also have multi-disciplinary implications and in particular their use involves considering the relationships between the socio-economic, psychological and political factors stimulating and constraining the changing behaviour of rural populations. A third question was primarily concerned with techniques promoting the effective transmission or communication of new practices, technology, skills or knowledge by extension workers to rural people (Table 9). A fourth question related to general problems of policy-making and planning of development programmes and the implementation and evaluation of these programmes (Table 10).

The answers to topics concerned with aspects of the rural social structure and rural institutions are tabulated in Table 7. It seemed that the topics we mentioned fell into three broad groups according to perceived priority. Approximately 70 per cent of all respondents considered 'Rural social organisation' and 'Efficient use of local resources' to be 'very useful' topics. Over half the respondents also gave the very high ratings to 'Development of indigenous technology; adoption or adaptation of Western technology', 'Co-operation and co-operatives' and 'Rural infrastructure'. These five topics were clearly accorded a general priority of interest; the other topics seemed to be less attractive.

By contrast, Table 8, which ranks the respondents' assessments of the usefulness of eight concepts frequently used in analyses of extension programmes (topics proposed as a framework for discussing subjects listed in Table 7), shows that responses to these concepts were largely undifferentiated: they all received very high ratings. Table 9, which gives the respondents' priorities on the aspects of communication of new practices, technology, skills and knowledge, shows that four topics ('Use of local leaders'; 'Group management'; 'Group dynamics'; and 'Use of existing groups') receive 'very useful' ratings by between two-thirds to three-quarters of the respondents.

Finally, Table 10 ranks respondents' preferences among topics concerned with policy, planning, implementation and evaluation of extension programmes. Again we find a largely undifferentiated response among the topics with the majority of respondents considering most of the topics to be 'very useful'.

While Tables 8, 9 and 10 show very little differentiation among the topics by respondents, Table 7 demonstrates a pronounced preference by respondents for certain topics, and a marked disregard for others. It is surprising that respondents evince so little interest on some of these topics which politicians, development planners and academics would consider of crucial importance as factors constraining or facilitating rural development. The most obviously disregarded topics, which are frequently given high priority in national development plans, are 'Employment and labour'; 'Finance and credit'; 'Land distribution and tenure'; 'Developmental inequality' between urban and rural areas; 'Migration'; and 'Family planning'.

A possible explanation is that the majority of the respondents consider these topics to belong to the sphere of the politicians or development planner and do not feel that they are in a position to influence decisions on these issues. The plausibility of this explanation is reinforced by various respondents' remarks (in answer to another question) about the nature of their work, and by numerous comments referring to the process of decision-making. Various respondents indicated, in their job descriptions, that their main role is to implement policies and development programmes devised by a distinct ministry or department, or an individual or group of people senior to them in a ministerial hierarchy. For example, a Principal Agricultural Officer stated, 'my role . . . is to ensure that Government Agricultural policies and programmes are carried out by Extension Officers and farmers.' Another respondent remarked that his major duties were to: 'develop and imple-

ment adequate publicity programmes to explain the policies of the Ministry of Agriculture through the Press, Radio, T.V. etc.' A third respondent commented that his work included: 'integration and execution of Director's policy at field level.'

Moreover, a significant number of comments emphasized the existence of a gap between the policy-makers on the one hand, and the extension agents and rural people on the other. One respondent remarked that '. . . government programmes seem to be imposed on the people without their consent, while in fact they are the ones who execute the programmes.' Another respondent, noting that extension workers were carrying out government policy to promote the cultivation of new cash crops even if this meant displacing food crops, remarked that 'extension workers under such conditions are only working in the interest of the STATE and not of the FARMER who can hardly anticipate his earnings from a small plot of, say, cotton.' A third respondent said that in his country, planning and decision-making meetings 'apparently are dominated by expatriate officers who do not know the country and its people well.' Some respondents clearly felt they could have little influence on decisions; on the other hand, others would welcome pamphlets on these topics, some of which cover areas noted as *not* being highly rated in Table 7. For example, one respondent writes: 'all these topics pose supremely important questions and pamphlets would be extremely useful and interesting to me as an extention and training officer. They would perhaps be more important to me as quotable material which would perhaps influence decision-making within the organisation of which I am part.'

If it is the case that there is a gap between the people taking the policy decisions and planning development programmes on the one hand, and those people who actually implement the programmes on the other hand, then this is undoubtedly significant for the type of pamphlets which the Centre should produce. In particular, perhaps, one aim of the pamphlets should be to bridge the gap.

The respondents' answers to the final question, which solicited respondents' own comments on the possible treatment of five specific topics were particularly interesting as they offer, perhaps for the first time, a close-up view of the problems encountered in the field by extension workers. We can classify the answers with reference to the very crude schema of the extension work process given in Diagram 1. The comments made by respondents can generally be classified according to the four links which occur in this model. It is interesting that there was no difference in the types of comments made by lecturers and research workers, heads of colleges and university departments, and senior and junior extension workers.

Few comments were made with reference to the first link of 'Planning, instructions and finance'. This is not surprising since very few respondents are working at this level. The general consensus by these respondents is that all the topics outlined in the final question are essential for development planning but that they must be considered locally in relation to the existing socio-economic, political and ecological constraints.

As might be expected, the second link – the basic communications function of the extension worker – is mentioned frequently. Comments range from the general to the specific: the difficulty of reaching the poorest sections of the community; the best way to reach an illiterate population; the problem of reaching people in the right ways – through community centres rather than through village chairmen or chiefs who only invite their friends and relatives to meetings; the physical obstacles to communications in small communities with severe transport problems (such as the Solomon Islands); the frustrations of teaching women about nutrition in communities where the men make all the decisions; instructions to implement programmes which have been planned and extension techniques elaborated but when inputs are not available; when resources are limited 'it is logical to aim one's efforts at those farmers who have the means and education to afford to take risks'; the need for co-ordination of programmes at the village level. A colourful example of this latter problem was given by one respondent. A grain storage extension agent and a family planning agent visited a particular village in close succession: "It was noted by the villagers that 'grain fumigant for preservation of grain' was a device in family planning and the Government is trying to propagate it as 'grain fumigant'. Both the programmes failed."

Many comments can be classified within the scope of the third link in the model – monitoring the impact of development programmes on the rural economy and society, and ascertaining the needs of the rural population. The unexpected side-effects of programmes and projects devised by governments are mentioned surprisingly frequently, showing that the respondents have a critical awareness of the development problems in their own countries and of their own role in that development process. Examples of such topics are: spraying of pesticides and fungicides causing a health hazard; whether or not crop expansion leads to price changes which discourage the farmer; the impact of agricultural development projects on land tenure; the promotion of cash crops which displace food crops and which do not provide the farmer with an assured income with which he can buy food; better pay and security leading to absenteeism among agricultural labourers; farmers failing to make capital improvements on land leased from the Government; the benefits from agricultural development programmes being derived mainly by the rich, and sometimes to the detriment of the poor. (This last point was elaborated at length by four respondents.)

In consonance with our earlier finding of a 'gap' between decision-makers on the one hand, and those who implement the decisions and the rural population on the other hand, a number of comments concern the 'upward' process of the transmission (or lack thereof) of information on the rural population's needs and on the consequent adverse impact on decision-making and policy-making at senior level – link 4 in the model. It seems that many extension workers in the field regard their superior authorities with a jaundiced eye, and often seem to feel that the decision-makers are not constructing policy in accordance with the needs of the rural population. For example: 'politicians particularly and some of the agricultural staff favour the use of the biggest and best piece of sophisticated machinery, despite an unemployment problem and a very poor record of machinery maintenance; it is very

difficult to get them to see the value of intermediate technology'; 'too much of the decision-making on (i) selection of extension staff and (ii) the duties of extension staff, lies with the power elite. It is my opinion that until: (a) trained extensionists are solely responsible for staff recruitment, and (b) it is the duty of extension directors and supervisors *alone* to delegate work to subordinates, little progress in rural development . . . can be expected'; 'surely, what is most important is for the politicians and planners to be aware of the importance and interrelationships of the topics indicated'; 'how to get the decision-makers or policy-makers to be aware of these things is very difficult unless you have reached that stage when you will be called upon'; 'the profession of the boss and the immediate subordinate should be the same. Otherwise the plan and programme of operation will be inhibited by either of them and conflict will arise. My immediate boss has become a blockage to me to implement the experience and the theoretical knowledge I acquired from your Centre'; 'decisions are taken for political rather than social or agricultural reasons.' Finally, we may note again the desire of one extension and training officer to use the pamphlets 'as quotable material which would perhaps influence decision-making within the organisation of which I am part.'

The implication of these remarks is that often the programmes and projects, and consequently the instructions for extension workers, are faulty, and based on insufficient information, which needs to be transmitted upwards and taken into account in the formulation of policy.

In this section we have seen that the answers tabulated in Tables 8-10 show high preferences among respondents for most subjects mentioned. There is some, but not much, differentiation among subjects. We have also seen that, by contrast, in the answers tabulated in Table 7, there is a marked range of preferences as to topics.

This information, together with the very interesting comments on the final question ought, therefore, to enable us to plan the content of pamphlets that could be produced by the Information Service. But we need also to consider respondents' preferences for the manner in which the material should be presented.

Presentation of material

We considered that the choice of method of presentation of the selected topics would depend to a large extent on two factors. First, the respondents' ease of access to published material and the adequacy of the available publications for their needs. Second, whether they have the inclination and time to read academic or theoretical material and relate it themselves to their own work environment and practical work problems, or whether they would prefer the pamphlets to define certain practical or theoretical problems, and analyse these, suggesting possible solutions, with reference to case studies and already tested solutions.

Respondents were, therefore, asked to bear in mind the adequacy of published material available to them, and the convenience of obtaining it, while indicating which of the listed types of presentation they would prefer. Table 11 is quite unequivocal in its demonstration of respondents' preferences. These specific

statements of preference reinforce the general impressions derived in the section on 'The need for an Information Service'. Clearly the first two methods of presentation are preferred because they obviate the need for comprehensive library facilities on development studies. Several letters also indicated that these forms of treatment were preferred because they would be selective of only relevant material and would attempt to apply this material in ways that extension workers may not otherwise have the time to consider or test.

In view of most respondents' poor access to publications, any appropriate articles, books or case studies should be fully synthesized in the pamphlets. The references should be given, but it should not be assumed that readers would either have the time to, or the possibility of, pursuing the reference.

Elaborating on a suggestion by a respondent that 'discussion among involved people' would be stimulating, we propose that pamphlets should also refer to unpublished case studies and to practical examples that we or respondents might know of, or themselves be engaged in. It would be helpful to include in the pamphlets the names and addresses of the people referred to, so that interested readers could contact them directly.

Conclusions

The purpose of the survey was to ascertain whether an information service provided by the Centre would be of use to its ex-students, and if so, what priorities were felt by the ex-students. Specifically, we wished to ascertain what topics should be dealt with by the information service; in what ways they should be treated; and at what level the publications should be aimed.

The results of the questionnaire survey demonstrate conclusively that there is such a need among the Centre's ex-students for an information service. The evidence also shows that there is a marked inequality among respondents in their access to, and reading of, material which would keep them up-to-date in the literature relevant to their work. Some respondents obviously have access to, and read, nothing or very little, whereas other respondents have access to, and read, a considerable amount. We need to note carefully that, among those respondents who do read relevant literature, a great deal of the material read is of the form of 'serious' professional books and journals. Among the books mentioned, many are concerned either with specific technical subjects such as weed control in the tropics, farm machinery, farm management, nutrition, cost-benefit analysis, or with general issues of rural development.

However, respondents do *not* appear to read books on planning and co-ordination. This is odd in view of their expressed interest in these subjects, and so we need to raise the question of whether there is a gap in the literature available. Furthermore, the respondents do read some popular books on management, but there is again only limited reading on problems concerned with communication. This seems to indicate that there is a serious deficiency in the literature dealing with the application to extension work of various theories and practical examples in such areas as planning,

co-ordination and communication. We know that there is a considerable amount of theoretical and 'academic' material on these issues; but it seems that little of this material is concerned with the problems of applying these theories in the extension work situation, and this is where the effort of continuing education must primarily lie.

TABLE 1 *Respondents classified according to approximate proportion of working schedule spent with rural people* (*a*)

Proportion of working schedule spent with rural people	*Number of respondents*
Under 25 per cent of working schedule (*b*)	35
Between 25 and 50 per cent of working schedule (*c*)	17
Over 50 per cent of working schedule (*d*)	16

a These estimates, which are only approximate, were assessed from the titles given for jobs, the descriptions of the objectives and actual work respondents were doing, and respondents' own assessments of the different activities they perform in their work.

b This includes the following type of jobs: university/college teaching; research; senior posts in Ministry headquarters mainly concerned with administration, planning, policy-making and supervision; information/public relations.

c This includes senior ministry or project staff, such as Principal/Senior Agricultural Officers, some Agricultural Officers, Project Managers, and Deputy Project Managers.

d This includes Agricultural Officers, Assistant Agricultural Officers, project staff, applied researchers.

TABLE 2 *Use made of published material by respondents during previous three months*

Use made	*Number of respondents*
No use	24
Some to considerable use	44

TABLE 3 *Respondents without access to publications by type of publication*

Source of publications	*Number of respondents without access*	*Per cent of all respondents*
United Nations publications	23	34
Publications of governmental aid-giving organisations	47	69
Publications of non-governmental voluntary organisations	45	66
Books and journals published outside respondents' own country	19	28

TABLE 4 *Respondents without access to publications by location of publications*

	Publications available			
Location of publications	*No*	*Don't know*	*Total*	*Per cent of all respondents*
Library at work	22	12	34	50
University/college library	25	16	41	60
Public library	39	18	57	84
Own collection	32	—	32	47

TABLE 5 *Number of books or other publications read by respondents in the previous three months*

Number of publications	*Number of respondents*	*Per cent of all respondents*
None	18	26
Few (1 to 3)	21	31
Several (4 or over)	29	43

TABLE 6 *Number of respondents making use of published material*

Type of use of published material	*Respondents, type of work (a)*			
	Lecturing/ training/ research/ evaluation	*Senior administrator*	*Extension officer*	*Total*
Specific use in:				
Teaching	11	3	1	15
Curriculum development	6	0	0	6
Research	4	0	0	4
Writing reports etc.	3	2	0	5
Planning	2	7	1	10
Extension work	1	2	5	8
Agricultural trials	1	2	0	3
Supervision/ administration	0	3	0	3
General use in:				
Acquiring ideas	5	4	2	11
No use	11	4	9	24
Total number of respondents engaged in each type of work	31	20	17	68
Percentage of respondents making no use of published material by category of work	35	20	53	35

a For a list of the range of jobs included in each category, see the notes on Table 1.

TABLE 7 *Usefulness of topics according to respondents*

Topic	*Number of respondents*		
	Very useful	*Restricted use*	*Not at all useful*
High priority:			
Rural social organisation	48	11	7
Efficient use of local resources	47	14	4
Development of indigenous technology; adoption or adaptation of Western technology	37	22	7
Co-operation and co-operatives	36	23	7
Rural infrastructure	35	18	13
Medium priority:			
Markets and marketing	28	27	11
Rural industry/crafts	28	21	17
Finance and credit	27	24	15
Land distribution and tenure	24	27	15
Relationships between indigenous economic organisation and ecosystem	23	29	14
Low priority:			
Urban-rural balance: developmental inequality	22	22	22
Employment and labour	18	28	20
Urban-rural balance: migration	18	25	23
Family planning	14	21	31
Inheritance and succession	14	21	31
Health education	12	24	30
Nomadism and pastoralism	7	18	41

TABLE 8 *Usefulness of concepts as a framework for discussing topics in Table 7, according to respondents*

Concept	*Number of respondents*		
	Very useful	*Restricted use*	*Not at all useful*
Motivation	53	12	3
Perception	52	13	3
Decision-making	48	16	4
Innovation adoption	46	16	6
Leadership	45	16	7
Peasant rationality	44	21	3
Innovation diffusion	43	18	7
Risk-taking	42	22	4

TABLE 9 *Usefulness of aspects of communication of new practices, technology, skills, and knowledge, according to respondents*

Aspects of communication	*Number of respondents*		
	Very useful	*Restricted use*	*Not at all useful*
High priority:			
Use of local leaders	50	15	3
Group management	50	13	5
Group dynamics	50	12	6
Use of existing groups	47	17	4
Medium priority:			
Use of media	41	24	3
Theories of communication	39	21	8
Low priority:			
Use of patronage-clientele system	21	31	16

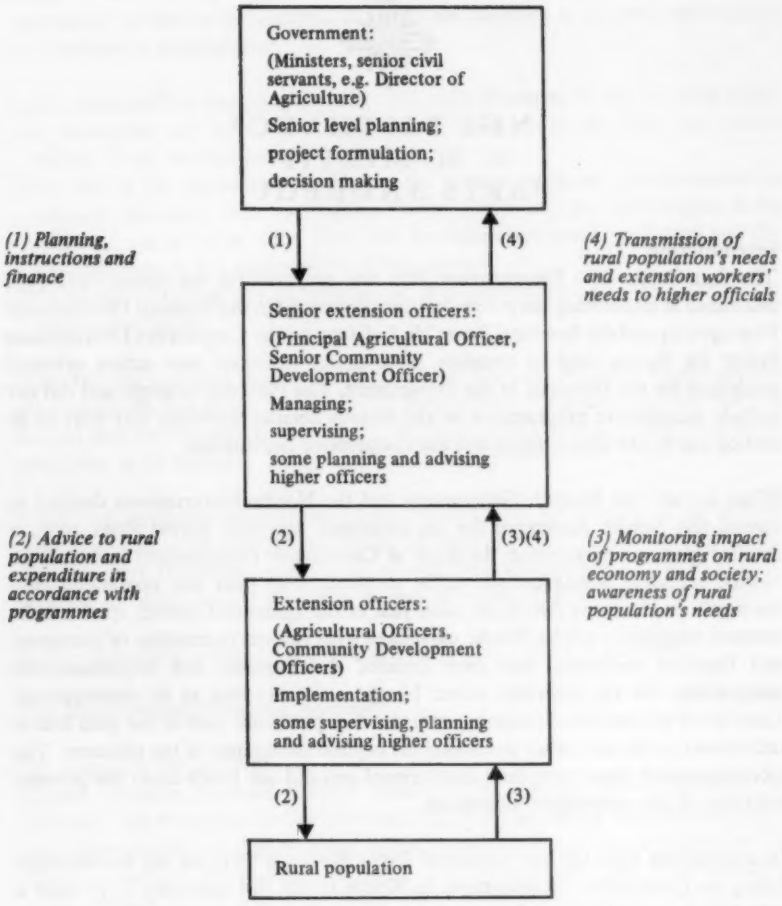
TABLE 10 *Usefulness of topics concerned with policy, planning, implementation and evaluation of extension programmes, according to respondents*

Topics	*Number of respondents*		
	Very useful	*Restricted use*	*Not at all useful*
General policy and planning considerations:			
Co-ordination between agencies	56	6	6
Planning in relation to needs	55	9	4
Assessment of needs	48	15	5
Policy implementation, means and ends	47	13	8
Projects:			
Problem of project continuity	54	6	8
Objectives and methods	48	14	6
Project evaluation	47	16	5
Assumptions behind projects	41	20	7

TABLE 11 *Respondents' preferred presentation of material in pamphlets*

Preferred method of presentation	*Number of respondents*	*Per cent of all respondents*
Description of practical or theoretical problem, illustrated and analysed with reference to case studies	51	75
Summaries of case studies	40	59
Annotated bibliographies	23	34
Theoretical treatment	15	22

Diagram 1


Government:
(Ministers, senior civil servants, e.g. Director of Agriculture)
Senior level planning;
project formulation;
decision making
(1) Planning, instructions and finance
(1)
(4)
(4) Transmission of rural population's needs and extension workers' needs to higher officials
Senior extension officers:
(Principal Agricultural Officer, Senior Community Development Officer)
Managing;
supervising;
some planning and advising higher officers
(2) Advice to rural population and expenditure in accordance with programmes
(2)
(3)(4)
(3) Monitoring impact of programmes on rural economy and society; awareness of rural population's needs
Extension officers:
(Agricultural Officers, Community Development Officers)
Implementation;
some supervising, planning and advising higher officers
(2)
(3)
Rural population

Planning Cooperative Development in Kenya: A formalized and integrated approach to Sector Planning

INGE REITHAUG*
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PARIS ANDREOU*

Introduction

The first Cooperative Development Plan was prepared for the period 1971-1974 and aimed at elaborating the policy decisions contained in the National Development Plan 1970/74 and the Sessional Paper No 8 of 1970 on the Cooperative Development Policy for Kenya, and to translate these policy decisions into action oriented guidelines for the Divisions of the Department. The Plan was strategic and did not include quantitative programmes on the various detailed activities that were to be carried out by the Department and the Cooperative Institutions.

When in 1971 the Kenyan Government and the Nordic Governments decided to extend the Nordic Assistance for an additional five year period from 1972, a detailed plan was prepared in the fields of Cooperative Development in which the Nordic technical assistance was to be involved. The plan was operational and functional in the sense that it, for each year of the agreement period, specified the planned magnitude of the Nordic assistance with respect to number of personnel and financial assistance, and gave detailed development and implementation programmes for the activities where Nordic assistance was to be concentrated. Later in 1973 it was found necessary to revise the operational part of the plan due to unforeseen trends and other developments beyond the control of the planners. The aforementioned plans were both institutional and did not touch upon the primary activities of the cooperative movement.

In conjunction with the new Sessional Paper No 14 of 1975 on the Government Policy on Cooperative Development in Kenya it was felt necessary to prepare a plan which covered the whole cooperative sector. The field horizon of cooperative involvement in the various sectors of the economy had widened tremendously since the first development plan and the indications were that this development

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would be further accelerated. The intensity of cooperative involvement in the main sectors of the economy had also increased and the Government had come to realize and had accepted the Cooperative movement as a significant tool for the development of the country, particularly where the focus was on uplifting the standard of living of the ordinary citizen. This confidence in the Cooperative movement culminated in 1975 in the creation of a separate Ministry to be solely responsible for Cooperative development.

In the context of the foregoing therefore the main objectives of the new plan were:

i to determine and unveil the comprehensive cooperative potentials and possibilities in the national economy in its future outlook

ii in view of the above and considering the present situation and the resources available and likely to be available in the Cooperative sector, to set targets to be achieved within the next five years and determine cooperative priorities and the strategy towards the achievement of those targets

iii to provide the basis for an assessment of continued foreign assistance to the cooperative sector.

It was felt that a plan of this nature should bring into clear relief the various groups and institutions that have a bearing on the development of Cooperatives and thereby the part they are expected to play by way of guidance and support to the cooperative movement in its financial, manpower and extension needs.

It was envisaged that the plan would also facilitate the drawing up of operational plans at district level, and the drawing up of plans of operation for the Department of Cooperative Development and other supportive organizations, all geared towards ensuring the achievement of objectives and ideals for cooperative development.

In the succeeding chapter the cooperative planning system is presented.

The Cooperative Planning System

THE PLANNING PHILOSOPHY

In most countries, National Plans of a sector of the economy have so far taken the characteristics of expressing the Government's policies, setting the national targets and delineating the strategies for the attainment of those policies and targets for the sector in question. Very seldom do we see that the Strategic Plan is accompanied by an operational part which transforms the national policies, targets and priorities into operational plans.

This shortcoming is, of course, for some countries and sectors due to the fact that there is no field organization to execute the plans. Such plans mainly become policy documents with forecasted or desired trends for use only as a basis for Governmental instituted programmes at national level.

On the other hand, in countries where the central Government is well represented by officers in the field, e.g. in Kenya, there is an existing organizational structure to

cater for the implementation of the National plans for most sectors of the economy. Hence it is possible, through the preparation of detailed operational plans, based on a National Sector plan, to engage the officers at ground level in implementation of the National policies, targets and priorities.

However, very little seems to be done when it comes to a systematic involvement of the officers at this level in an integrated vertical approach to sector planning. In cases where operational plans have been made, these have usually been prepared by a team of planners with scarce involvement by the officers that later are supposed to implement the plans. The reason being that of choosing the most rapid way of preparing a plan rather than considering how the contents of the plan should best be implemented.

For the same reason these planners have not been able to create a process bringing the element of planning as a natural part of the daily work of the executives.

In modern literature on Corporate Planning, however, the importance of creating a process allowing for, and actually also utilizing, the participation of the executives in the planning process is regarded as a prerequisite for achieving the aim of such an exercise. In this approach the planning process is often regarded as important as the final plan itself.

Generally it must be true that in order to secure a successful implementation of any plan the officers who are responsible for its implementation should also be behind its creation.

This philosophy of 'participative planning' was considered crucial when the task of preparing a National Cooperative Development Plan for Kenya was given to the Development Planning Division of the Department of Cooperative Development. It was recognized that if the plan should become a valuable document in the steering of cooperative development, the priorities as drawn up in the plan should originate from the officers who were to carry them through. Another important aim with the planning exercise was to further institute 'management by objectives' among the cooperative leaders, the Plan as such becoming the overall framework for the development and supervision of the Cooperative movement.

Based on the foregoing realization therefore, an organization of the planning process was aimed at whereby each level in the organization of the Department and the Movement was involved according to their area of responsibility for the implementation of the plan.

The main exercise was the preparation of a Strategic Plan called the 'National Cooperative Development Plan, 1976/80'. Based on the National Policies the Plan presents the main objectives and strategy on Cooperative development, targets, priorities and means for the development of the various cooperative activities and the consequences on the part of the Government and the Movement, as well as implications for the Government in terms of policy support, manpower requirements and consequent finances.

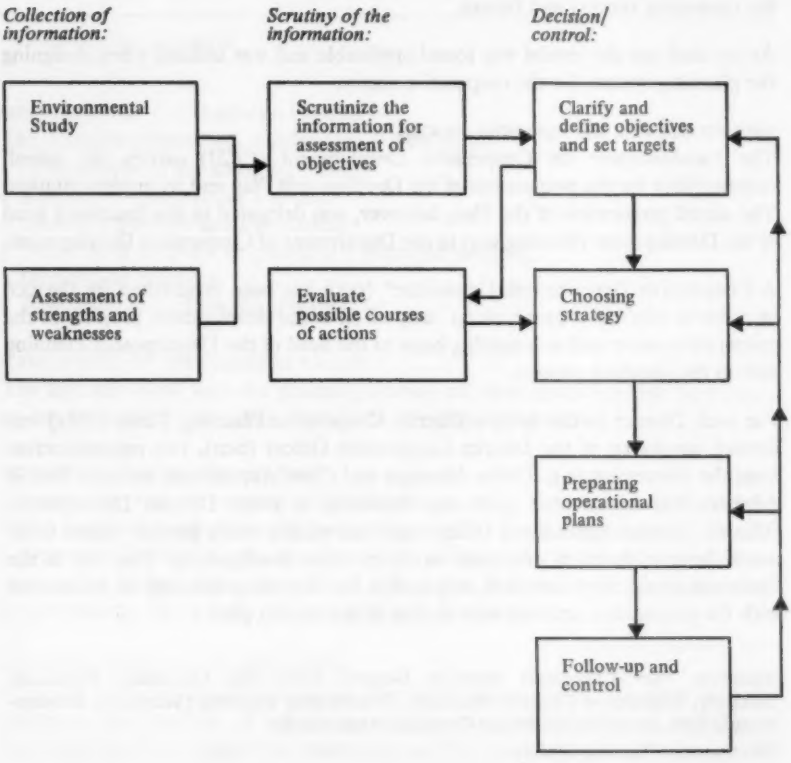
In subservience of the National Plan and in order to translate objectives and priorities at National level into operational goals and programmes, District Cooperative Planning Teams (see below) were formed throughout the country and asked to prepare a District Cooperative Development Plan for their respective districts. The District Plans present the policies, prospects and targets for Cooperative development of the various activities in the Districts and how these are to be attained. There are separate plans for the Cooperative union(s) and societies and operational plans for the implementation of various programmes by the functional Divisions of the Department (Education, Accounts, Audits and Credit).

THE PLANNING MODEL

As mentioned already principles for corporate planning were chosen as a model in designing the system to be applied for the planning process.

The illustration which follows shows the basic steps of the planning process.

Illust. 1 A General Model of Long Range Planning



According to this illustration, any organization which wants to engage itself with formalized planning shall have to:

- clarify and define its objectives and set targets
- choose its strategies, i.e. draw up guidelines as to how these objectives should be attained and decide upon the resources to be used to this effect
- work out operational plans on the basis of the laid down objectives and strategy
- follow up and control its own performances and essential environmental factors.

In order to decide upon the objectives and targets it is important to do this on the basis of a situation analysis of the organization's own strengths and weaknesses and a study of the potentials and other external factors that might be of interest to the organization, or likely to influence its future operations.

Another important feature with this planning model is that the process is iterative and adaptable, i.e. the consequences of previous decisions are given at each stage in the process, and when met by restrictions or conflicts – goals are reassessed and plans adjusted.

Through such a formalized planning process the basis is laid down for a working method which ensures an appraisal of the main problems and the creation of a tool for measuring success and failure.

As we shall see this model was found applicable and was utilized when designing the planning system for the cooperative sector.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The Commissioner for Cooperative Development (CCD) carries the overall responsibility for the preparation of the Development Plan and its implementation. The actual preparation of the Plan, however, was delegated to the functional head of the Development Planning unit in the Department of Cooperative Development.

A Cooperative Development Committee* (CDC) has been established by the CCD in order to work as a coordination body of all major development projects in the cooperative sector and as a guiding body to the head of the Development Planning unit in the planning process.

For each District in the field, a District Cooperative Planning Team (DCPT) was formed consisting of the District Cooperative Officer (DCO), two representatives from the Movement (e.g. Union Manager and Chief Accountant) and one Nordic Adviser. The DCPTs were given the flexibility to coopt District Development Officers, District Agricultural Officers and indeed any other persons whose fields would be considered of relevance to Cooperative development. The DCO is the Chairman of the DCPT and he is responsible for convening meetings in connection with the preparation and implementation of the district plan.

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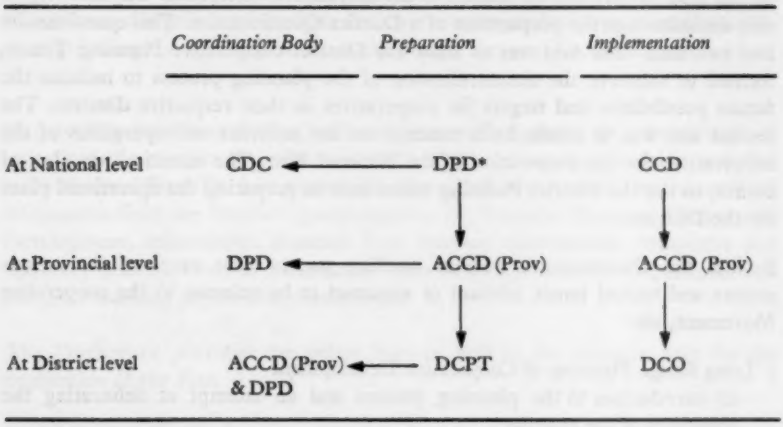
*Members: CCD (Chairman); Secretary General, KNFC (Vice Chairman); Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Cooperatives; ACCD, Development Planning (Secretary); Development Officer, KNFC; Nordic Project Coordinator (co-opted).

*Development Planning Division.

The head of the Cooperative Department in the Province is the main responsible person for the preparation and implementation of the plans for his Province.

Fig. Organisation of the LRP Process



*Development Planning Division

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The planning process was divided into 6 main steps:

1 Management of the planning process.
2 Revision of Cooperative Policies.
3 Situation Analysis and Forecasting.
4 Selection of cooperative priorities – Strategic planning.
5 Operational planning.
6 Evaluation and follow up of plans.

MANAGEMENT OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The first step deals with the process planning and management which have more or less taken place constantly throughout the planning process.

REVISION OF COOPERATIVE POLICIES

The next step was the revision of the sessional paper on 'Cooperative Development Policy for Kenya'. The Policy Paper was approved by the Parliament just before the Cooperative Leaders' Conference (see below). This policy document provided the cooperative leaders with the political and policy framework in formulating the future strategy and priorities for cooperative development.

SITUATION ANALYSIS AND FORECASTING

This was probably the most extensive part of the whole exercise. It dealt with the collection and analysis of information about the present situation and future development of the cooperative movement and its environment.

Already in the early stages of the process planning it was decided to choose a decentralized approach in the preparation of the operational plans. Consequently, it was felt necessary to involve the grass root level already from the start thereby utilizing field experience, the field situation and the potentialities as these were seen by the field officers and the leaders of the cooperative enterprises. The first step in this direction was the preparation of a District Questionnaire. This questionnaire had two aims. The first was to allow the District Cooperative Planning Teams, formed to subserve the decentralization of the planning process to indicate the future possibilities and targets for cooperatives in their respective districts. The second aim was to obtain basic material on the activities and operations of the cooperatives for the preparation of the National Plan. The intention was also, of course, to use the District Planning teams later in preparing the operational plans for the Districts.

Besides the Questionnaire, various working papers were prepared on various sectors and topical issues relevant or expected to be relevant to the cooperative Movement, viz:

1 Long Range Planning of Cooperative Development
- an introduction to the planning process and an attempt at delineating the objectives of the exercise.

2 Prognosis of main Economic and Social Factors
- an analysis of the main factors that have a bearing on the social and economic development of Kenya.

3 An Analysis of the expected trends of Development of the main Sectors of the Economy
- an examination and projection of the trends of development of main sectors considered to be of importance for future cooperative development.

4 Objectives and Criteria for Gauging Cooperative Performance
- a paper on the considerations that should be taken into account when measuring and judging the efficiency and performance of cooperatives.

5 The Cooperative Movement in Kenya and the frame within which cooperatives exist
- a short description of the cooperative movement, its structure and relation to the various institutions performing similar or related functions as those of the Marketing Boards.

6 Functional and Economic Performance of Marketing Cooperative Societies
- an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of various types of marketing cooperative societies and an account of the secondary activities and services in the cooperative sector.

7 Overall Account of Cooperative Activities
- the paper covered an essential part of major cooperatives in the outside world to provide experiences with regard to cooperative approaches which might be of interest to Kenya.

8 Future Potentials and Plans for Nationwide Cooperative Organizations.

9 Main Objectives for Cooperative Development, Cooperative Development Priorities and Institutional Plans.

SELECTION OF COOPERATIVE PRIORITIES – STRATEGIC PLANNING

This part deals with the actual plan for Cooperative Development at National level. The initial stage in this context was the Conference for Cooperative Leaders on the future strategy for Cooperative Development. The Conference drew participants from the senior personnel in the Department, representatives from various key Ministries and representatives from the major countrywide Cooperative Organizations including the apex organization, the Kenya National Federation of Cooperatives.

The working document at this Conference was working paper no 9 (see above). It comprised of a number of preliminary drafts of the various chapters to be included in the National Plan. The base material for these drafts was provided by the analyzed information from the District Questionnaires, the Sessional Paper on Cooperative Development, information obtained from relevant Government Ministries and Statutory Boards as well as information available from within the Department and the other working papers mentioned above.

The Conference provided the policy base as well as the resource base for the finalization of the Plan.

In this respect the Conference scrutinized the identified objectives and determined what should be the future objectives for Cooperative development inclusive of the means of achieving the chosen objectives.

The Conference further determined the optimum approach for the future development of each primary cooperative activity,* basing this on the recent developments, present situation and the future possibilities and potential for each activity. Towards this end the Conference had to address itself to certain aspects as for instance:

a feasible growth rates and intensity of Cooperative involvement in each activity
b promotional requirements and consequences for the Department in terms of finance and manpower
c consequences for other Ministries and organizations
d geographical areas of emphasis, etc.

For each cooperative activity the Conference had the responsibility to identify current problems and their possible solutions and to make recommendations on targets and priority areas of emphasis. On the basis of the agreed recommendations for each activity the participants should identify the promotional requirements for the Movement, the Government and the Department in particular, other institutions and the need for technical assistance.

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*The operational functions in the cooperative movement is divided into *primary* and *secondary* activities. The primary cooperative activities refer to the basic function under which a society has been registered, eg the marketing of coffee in a coffee society or the retail activity of a consumer society. Secondary activities are subsidiary functions or services rendered to members eg farm input supply, transport, banking and nurseries.

The Conference was also asked to identify present structural problems within the cooperative sector and make recommendations on the needs for restructuring both regarding horizontal and vertical integration. In the same context the Conference was asked to make recommendations on how to improve the efficiency and operations of cooperatives both regarding primary and secondary activities and services of cooperative organizations.

With regard to the functional roles of the Kenya National Federation of Cooperatives, the Cooperative Bank and the Cooperative College, the Conference was mainly asked to decide upon the future objectives and priorities for the respective organization, various policy matters as appropriate, structural changes where necessary, and the consequences of their recommendations in terms of manpower and financial requirements.

The extensive recommendations made by the Conference were later weaved together with other relevant information to produce the National Cooperative Development Plan 1976-80.

OPERATIONAL PLANNING

Instead of 'strategic planning' and 'operational planning' we could actually have used the terms 'national planning' and 'district planning'. Important to note is that the two exercises are parts of the same process where the latter is also the measurable tool towards the achievement of the national targets and aspirations as expressed in the National Plan.

The guidelines for the preparation of the District Plans were made by the Development Planning Division. These were presented to the District Cooperative Planning Teams in the field together with a Model Plan for one of the Districts (Machakos District). As much as possible of the actual planning work was left to the DCO and his team, who under the guidance of the Development Planning Division and other Divisions of the Department was made responsible for the finalization of the District Plan.

EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP OF PLANS

After the preparation of the National Plan, it was distributed to various relevant Government Ministries for their comments. A joint Kenyan-Nordic Evaluation Mission was also appointed by the Ministry of Cooperative Development to provide for the purposes of the Kenyan Government an independent future-oriented evaluation of and recommendation on the priorities and plans for 1976-80, and to assess their consistence, feasibility and coordination with the general Kenyan economic and social objectives.

Also included in their terms of reference was an assessment of the future needs of foreign assistance to the cooperative sector. The report presented by the Evaluation Mission was accepted by the Kenyan and Nordic Authorities in principle and it led to a new agreement between the two parties extending Nordic assistance to the cooperative sector up to the end of the plan period.

The follow-up aspects of the plans are catered for through the standardized reporting procedures for field officers (which had been developed separately) whereby the District Cooperative Officers on quarterly and annual basis prepare rather comprehensive reports on the progress in their respective area. Through these reports the Department is able to compare plan targets with actual performance and thereby institute a necessary control function in the planning system whereby reassessment and adjustment of targets and goals can be made.

The Structure of the National Cooperative Plan, 1976-80

The main product of the planning process is the plan itself which is structured on the basis of 10 main chapters as follows:

1 Preamble
2 National Objectives and the outlook on the Kenyan Economy
3 Main Objectives and Strategy on Cooperative Development
4 Primary Cooperative Activities
5 Structural and Operational Development of the Cooperative Movement
6 The Department of Cooperative Development
7 KNFC
8 Cooperative Bank
9 Cooperative College
10 Plan Implications

The Preamble describes the background of the plan, the plan objectives, the assumptions made, the planning methods and presentation chosen. In Chapter 2 is given a broad review of the Kenyan economy, its outlook and the national aspirations, constituting a kind of framework into which the cooperative sector will need to dovetail. This is followed in Chapter 3 by a formulation of the basic objectives of cooperative development, the Government policy on cooperative development in Kenya and the basic strategy for the achievement of those objectives. The plan then goes into depth to examine the present situation and recent development of each primary cooperative activity (29 in total). It delineates the Government policy and the expected outlook in respect of each activity, presents the Government policy on Cooperative involvement and the prospects for cooperative participation, and then goes further to present the cooperative production targets for the plan period, remedies, priorities and requirements that have to be met as prerequisites for the achievement of the set targets (Chapter 4).

Chapter 5 examines the structural development and the operational efficiency of cooperative movement. Chapter 6 presents the plans and priorities of the Department of Cooperative Development as a service institution to the Cooperative Movement, on the basis of its various technical Divisions, viz: Credit and Finance, Audit and Accounts, Education and Training, Development Planning, Settlement, and Legal and Field Services.

There are institutions belonging to the Government and the Movement which are rendering very significant services for the cooperatives. Their objectives and

strategy are also presented in this plan. The Kenya National Federation of Cooperatives as the apex organization for the movement (Chapter 7) the Cooperative Bank of Kenya as the banker for the movement (Chapter 8) and the Cooperative College of Kenya as the training institution both for the Movement staff and the Government staff in the Cooperative sector (Chapter 9). The last chapter (Chapter 10) is an attempt to formulate the implications of the plan to the Kenya Government (Ministry of Cooperative Development and other related Ministries) in terms of policy support, manpower requirements and the consequent finances.

The chapter also attempts to identify the need for continued or additional technical assistance in the various fields of cooperative development.

The District Cooperative Development Plan

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The main reason for preparing plans at district level was an attempt to make the National Cooperative Development Plan operational, by translating the National Cooperative policies and priorities into specific goals for each district.

However, the main emphasis was not put on the plan itself, but rather on the organization and process by which it was created. Hence it was made clear from the start that the District Plans should be prepared by the Departmental and cooperative leaders responsible for their implementation.

As a consequence of this, the District Plans were also to contain the ambitions of the local movement and the Departmental Officers, and would no longer present a disaggregated picture of the National Plan. The latter was rather regarded as a guideline to the DCPTs in their preparation of the plans. Concerning the plan requirements on the side of resources and systems implementation, this was worked out in collaboration with the various Divisions of the Department.

In decentralizing the preparation of the operational plans to the Districts, two two important considerations were made, particularly with regard to a successful implementation of the plans, viz:

1 participation in the long range planning process at district level motivates the leaders of the movement and the Departmental Officers to make a devoted contribution towards the fulfilment of the targets of the National Plan.
2 drawing of the district plans requires the Departmental Officers and the cooperative leaders to familiarize themselves with parts of the National Plan which thus gives them a better understanding of the national aspirations and targets in the field of Cooperative Development.

The District Plan could also be seen as a means to increased efficiency of the Department:

1 by comparing plan targets with actual performance it is possible to pinpoint reasons for failures so that such reasons can be eliminated and efficiency generally improved

2 it gives the provincial and national administration of the Department of Cooperatives a tool for supervision of the field officers and measuring their performance
3 preparation of the district plans requires collection of rather extensive background material. Such material has so far been largely unavailable in 'organized' form in spite of the fact that it is needed for decision-making both within the Department and the Movement.

The District plans could lastly be seen as a means of promoting cooperative development in a systematized and rational way. In the process of preparing plans, prospects for cooperative development and potential areas for cooperative exploitation are analyzed. Waste of resources is also avoided through proper planning as they can be coordinated and utilized where the output/input ratio is most favourable. It is, besides, easier to avoid conflicts within the district when the objectives, policies and plan targets are clearly defined.

THE PRESENTATION AND CONTENTS OF THE DISTRICT PLAN

The planning model used in preparing the District Plan is in principle the same as the one applied when preparing the National Plan. It contains the following main steps and components:

1 analysis of present situation and recent development
2 analysis of prospects, potentials and defining policies and targets
3 drawing of plans and defining plan requirements and implications.

The model plan that was prepared for Machakos District was divided into the following chapters:

1. *Introduction*
Description of the plan
Structure and presentation of the plan
2. *Situation Analysis, Policies, Prospects and Targets*
Agricultural production and potential
Policies and prospects for cooperative participation
Presentation activity-wise
  Coffee
  Other crops
  Animal products
Cooperative Structure and Organization
3. *Plan Requirements*
Machakos District Cooperative Union
Department of Cooperative Development
Societies Capital Expenditure
4. *Plan for Primary Societies*
Coffee societies
Other Marketing Societies
Ranches and large-scale farms
Settlement societies
Other societies

The Districts should in the introductory chapter give a brief definition of the plan and describe the planning model used and how the plan is presented.

This is followed by a description of the development trends, the present situation, and an analysis of the prospects, potentials and plan targets and the means by which to exploit the potential and reach the plan targets for each primary cooperative activity.

In districts where the major part of cooperatives are founded on agriculture there should be an analysis of the agricultural sector comprising of:

- the land utilization and potential
- a brief description of the main agricultural crops and activities, including a presentation of the production volume and value of marketed production
- a comparison with the corresponding cooperative production.

Based on an analysis of the potential and the cooperative production and market share, a brief general policy statement on the cooperative participation in various activities is given.

Thereafter the primary activities of importance to the cooperatives is analyzed. For each activity the analysis included a presentation of the development trend, the present situation, the projected production and the plans through which the future production is to be reached.

After having presented the future plans for all cooperative activities and how these should be organized, the plan requirements for the District Union and the Department of Cooperative Development were given. For each year of the plan period the District presented detailed plans of the Departmental programmes and systems to be introduced to the Movement, e.g. education programmes, development of savings and credit activities, etc.

The District Plan ends by presenting the major plans and plan requirements for each active cooperative society. The main components of the plan for each society should include:

a Turnover of primary activities, 1976-80.
b A description of plans and measures through which the plan targets are proposed to be reached.
c A presentation of the basic plan implications, e.g. need of storage, processing, transport and other facilities and their financial implications.
d All other aspects which significantly would influence the operations of the society, e.g. diversification, amalgamation, introduction of new loan schemes, etc.

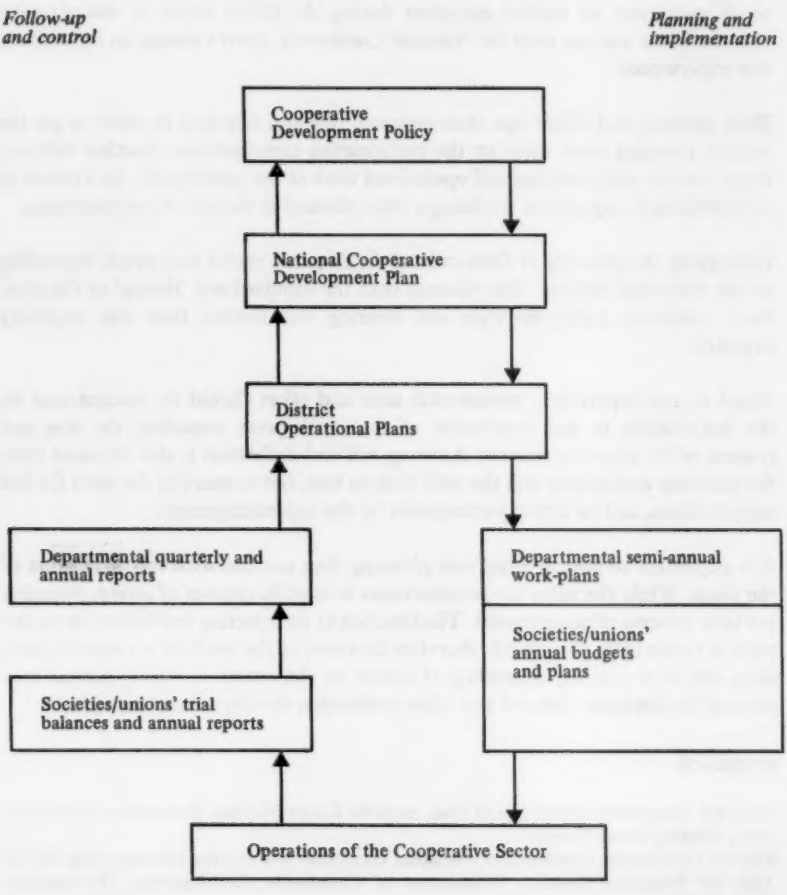
The intention was that although a major part of the actual planning work was done by the DCPT, the society plans should originate from the societies themselves where

the Management Committees were to be given a major say when the plans were prepared.

Conclusion

It has been the intention of 'the planners' not only to prepare a long-range plan for the cooperative sector, but also to institute the development planning function as an integrated and basic part of an information system for coordination planning and control of the cooperative sector. The plans are drawn on the basis of the Government's policy and transformed into operational details controlable through a standardized field reporting system as shown in the following illustration:

Illust. 2 An integrated planning and information system for the Cooperative Sector


Follow-up and control
Planning and implementation
Cooperative Development Policy
National Cooperative Development Plan
District Operational Plans
Departmental quarterly and annual reports
Departmental semi-annual work-plans
Societies/unions' annual budgets and plans
Societies/unions' trial balances and annual reports
Operations of the Cooperative Sector

Another important realization was the necessity to decentralize the planning process and involve the officers and leaders at the local level in the planning work. To achieve this, a sectoral planning system was created whereby the departmental officers charged with the responsibility for implementation of the plans were given the task of formulating the operational plans on the basis of the policy, objectives and targets laid down in the National Cooperative Development Plan. Through a planning procedure which is based on a guided involvement of the officers responible for plan implementation the condition is laid down towards a positive participation in the planning and implementation stages.

However, it should be mentioned that despite our concern and efforts to create a positive climate for the planning work among the departmental officers and leaders of the Movement, the purpose of the exercise was not immediately fully recognized or understood. The objectives of the planning process were presented and explained to all concerned on various occasions during the initial stages of the planning exercise but it was not until the National Conference when a change in the attitude was experienced.

More training and follow-ups than expected was also required in order to get the various planning parts done by the participating organizations. Another delaying factor was the daily routines and operational work of the participants. As a means to overcome such stagnancies workshops were planned as forums of concentration.

Concerning the planning at District level the response varied very much depending on the individual officers. This effected both the standard and 'timing' of the plan. More attention, follow-up trips and steering was needed than was originally expected.

Based on our experience, considerable time and effort should be concentrated on the information to and motivation of the participants regarding the aim and content of the planning process. A strong will and dedication is also required from the planning coordinator and the staff close to him, not to mention the need for full support from, and an active participation by the top management.

It is important to bear in mind that planning does not end with the finalization of the plans. While the latter are commitments to specific courses of action, planning is a basic process of management. The function of interpreting and following up the plans is continuous. One should therefore be aware of the need for revision of plans after, say, 2 to 3 years, depending of course on the extent to which internal and external factors have changed and other unforeseen developments taken place.

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[4]Kenya Development Plan 1974-1978, Government Printer, Nairobi.
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Local Government Institutions in Sierra Leone Part 2: Contemporary Chiefdom Administration

ROGER TANGRI*

In his presidential address to Parliament in June 1973, the President of Sierra Leone declared that it was his 'Government's intention to strengthen Chiefdom Administrations so that they will play a significant and positive role in our economic, social and political development.'[1] This intention – since reiterated – to develop chiefdom administrations into the pivotal organs of rural local government marks a fundamental break with a policy pursued since the early 1950s the basic assumption of which was that the District Councils, instead of chiefdom institutions, should be the principal agencies for the provision of amenities and services at the grass roots level. As was seen in the first part of this article, the District Councils proved ineffective and were abolished in January 1972. But chiefdom institutions have also proved notoriously ineffective in responding to the felt needs of the rural population, and are today almost universally seen as having fallen into near disrepute. It is the purpose of the second part of this article to discuss the failings of chiefdom administrations[2] and to consider some proposed reforms which seek to make them respond more effectively to the needs and expectations of the rural people, who constitute the vast majority of Sierra Leone's population.

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Provincial Sierra Leone is divided into twelve Districts, grouped together into three Provinces, and in turn sub-divided into chiefdoms. The 148 chiefdoms (52 in each of the Southern and Northern Provinces and 44 in the Eastern Province) reveal larger diversities in geographical area, population and relative wealth with, for

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[1]Presidential Address delivered by President Siaka Stevens at the First Session of the Second Parliament of the Republic of Sierra Leone, 22 June 1973 (Freetown, 1973), p 2.

[2]For some previous discussions of chiefdom administration in Sierra Leone, see Ursula K. Hicks, *Development from Below* (Oxford, 1961), pp 110-12, 197-203; Martin Kilson, *Political Change in a West African State* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966), pp 24-33, 193-202; and I. Amadi Emina, *Report of the Committee on the Review of Local Government Structure in Sierra Leone* (Freetown, 1970), (mimeo).

example, population ranging from below 2,000 to over 45,000. But despite such great variations the chiefdoms share a similarity in administrative structure. Each is organized in a pyramidal hierarchy at the head of which stands an elected but also hereditary Parmount Chief[1] advised by a Chiefdom Council. Each chiefdom is divided into a number of sections (usually between four and twelve) which are in charge of a Section Chief, and sections are further divided into large villages and towns with their own headmen. The important headmen meet with the Parmount Chief, Section Chiefs and the Chiefdom Speaker (the second important official in a chiefdom) in a Chiefdom Council and constitute that part of the membership elected by the people according to customary law. Additional members are elected on the basis of one representative per twenty taxpayers in the chiefdom. In practice, however, these latter councillors have been rarely elected. They are usually selected by influential men in the chiefdom, and it is not uncommon for the choice to be considerably influenced by the Parmount Chief. In many chiefdoms, even the Speaker and Section Chiefs are close allies and virtual personal nominees of Paramount Chiefs.

Because of their size, Chiefdom Councils have proved too unwieldy to carry out the business of day-to-day administration. The size of a Chiefdom Council varies according to the number of taxpayers in a chiefdom, with around forty members in the smallest and nine hundred in the largest chiefdom. Chiefdom Councils meet only once or twice a year in order to approve the reports of the Chiefdom Committee and are also responsible for the election of council officers, most notably the Paramount Chief. Up to the mid-1950s, the powers vested in the Chiefdom Councils were exercised by the Paramount Chief and his leading allies. In many chiefdoms the Paramount Chiefs used their position for personal enrichment and there was a widespread abuse of power.[2] From 1956, Chiefdom Committees were established to provide efficient and constant review of the business affairs of the chiefdom. These Committees consist of a chairman who is the Paramount Chief, the Speaker of the chiefdom who is vice-chairman, two members from each ward in the chiefdom elected by the chiefdom councillors representing that ward, a literate councillor nominated by Government, and a Chiefdom Clerk as Secretary. The functions of Chiefdom Committees include preparing financial estimates, negotiating and overseeing contracts, supervising expenditures and inspecting accounts, collecting revenues, and appointing and controlling staff; they are also empowered to initiate chiefdom bye-laws for consideration by the Chiefdom Council. As we shall see shortly, the Chiefdom Committees have failed to live up to their responsibilities. One reason has been that the Committees have tended to be packed with the Paramount Chief's favourites. Indeed, both the Chiefdom Committees and the Chiefdom Councils have been composed largely of

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[1]Paramount Chiefs are elected for life by the Chiefdom Council. Candidates for the paramount chieftaincy must belong to the 'ruling' or crowning houses in the chiefdom concerned. No other qualifications are required of a candidate.

[2]See Sir Herbert Cox, *Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in the Provinces, November 1955 – March 1956* (Freetown, 1956), pp 149, 171-2, etc.

personal nominees of Parmount Chiefs who have often pursued their own private personal or sectional goals rather than the public interest. During the 1950s a Central Chiefdom Administration was instituted in each District consisting of a Senior Clerk and assistants and financed partly by contributions (usually arbitrarily decided) from the chiefdoms with a view to providing a regular system of internal surveillance of chiefdom accounts. But this particular function has also not been effectively performed. Checks are hardly conducted since chiefdom balance sheets certified by the Auditor-General invariably reflect shortages, whilst the accounts of the Central Administrations themselves reveal various irregularities; funds have, for instance, often been used to make irregular advances to private individuals.

Inadequate financial resources together with extensive financial malfeasance have prevented chiefdom authorities from achieving very much. The principal sources of revenue of chiefdom administrations are local tax, rates, court receipts, central government grants, licences and fees with the proceeds of local tax and government grants constituting the major items. A relatively insignificant portion of their funds has been expended in the fields of agriculture, forestry, education, and public works. This has been particularly the case with small chiefdoms in which administrative expenses have consumed the bulk of the budget. In fact, in most chiefdoms the largest share of their expenditure, varying between 55 to 70 per cent, has gone on administrative charges, composed mainly of the cost of salaries and wages and also travelling and entertainment expenses.

There have been too many hereditary and 'traditional' leaders to maintain and the maintenance of local courts and chiefdom police forces has also proved costly. In addition, there have been the small contributions to the Central Chiefdom Administration and, more significantly, the District Council precept under which the District Councils obtained funds by issuing a demand on chiefdoms to cover the estimated cost of their services. The precept, which came to an end with the abolition of District Councils in 1972, varied between 30 to 40 per cent of the expenditure of chiefdoms, although in actual practice few chiefdoms possessed the funds to meet the precept in full. It is obvious therefore that chiefdoms have not commanded sufficient resources to finance major services and capital projects. Expenditure on rural economic and social development has been rarely more than derisory. Finally, while revenue has remained largely constant – local tax has not been increased since 1956 – expenditure has continued to soar. For an increasing number of chiefdoms, their revenues and grants have been barely sufficient to cover the costs of administration, the more so as government grants have not been paid as stipulated; in many cases less than estimated amounts have been received.[1]

Insofar as they are generally small in population, the chiefdom administrations

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[1] I. A. Emina, *op cit*, pp 32-8; C. Viswasam, *Sierra Leone Local Government in the Chiefdoms* (Freetown, 1973), pp 20-4, and Appendix No 2; Minutes of a conference of administrative officers of the Southern Province, 15 February 1971; and 'The Existing Financial System of Chiefdom Administration', a paper prepared by the District Officer, Bombali for a conference of administrative officers of the Northern Province, 9 February 1971.

have proved poor in taxable resources and thus in development capacity. Financial limitations have meant difficulties in recruiting the calibre of administrative personnel required. Staff have been invariably old and ill-trained and have proved inadequate to the tasks to be performed. More important has been the fact that the staff have been connected to, and selected by, the chiefdom hierarchy. Not only have the Paramount Chiefs influenced the selection of chiefdom officers (Speakers, Section Chiefs, etc.) but openings in the chiefdom administration have also been given by them to relatives by blood or marriage or friends. Paramount Chiefs have thus been in a position to turn chiefdom government to their own benefit as well as to the interest of those with kinship or other ties. Recurrent instances of various irregularities are recorded in the audit reports which reveal the extent to which corruption and extravagance have abounded in the chiefdom administrations. Numerous unauthorized advances have been made; a host of contracts have been illegally awarded; and various other abuses such as excess expenditure, cash shortages and unsupported payments have occured. The chiefs, chiefdom officers, and chiefdom employees have been the prime beneficiaries.[1]

In theory central supervision of chiefdom government, particularly by the District Officer and his Assistants, is quite considerable but has proved inadequate in practice.[2] Part of the reason for inadequate central control has been administrative: Shortages of personnel; pressure of work; the frequent transfer of District Officers who, in any case, are unlikely to have been trained in finance and book-keeping, etc. But more important is that central governments, colonial as well as African, have permitted Paramount Chiefs considerable autonomy in chiefdom affairs. Governments have been dependent on chiefs for the performance of various tasks at the local level – tax-collection, law and order, mustering political support – and have feared that close central supervision would diminish the authority of Paramount Chiefs and thus make them ineffective as local agents. In exchange for assistance, central governments have backed the chiefs and exercised minimal control over them.[3] Particularly since independence, many chiefs have thought and acted as if they were not under the control of the District Officer who has found it difficult to assert his authority.[4] And if this is coupled with the unwillingness of governments to enforce legal sanctions against persons known to have committed grave irregularities, as disclosed in audit reports, it is clear that wrongdoers would not be deterred from departures from legally stipulated codes of administrative behaviour.[5]

All the above-mentioned factors have told against the efficient working of chiefdom administrations in Sierra Leone since their institution in the late 1930s. At the same time, the local administrative machinery which has been fashioned to

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[1]See Reports of the Auditor General on the accounts of the chiefdom authorities published regularly in the *Sierra Leone Gazette* (Freetown).

[2]Cox Report, *op cit*, pp 219-22, 226. See also C. Viswasam, *op cit*.

[3]M. Kilson, *op cit*, p 216.

[4]*Report of the Administrative Officers (Field Duties) Seminar*, 18 July 1966 (mimeo), p 14.

[5]I. A. Emina, *op cit*, pp 51, 118.

promote economic and social development at the grass roots level has for many years ceased to revolve significantly around the chiefdom administrations. Up to the early 1950s 'reliance was placed on the Paramount Chiefs as the executive agents for implementing the new policies of the central government'[1] but this was generally seen to be unsuccessful. The Paramount Chiefs were regarded as unprogressive and their administrations as incompetent in the management of affairs devolved on them. District Councils were envisioned as more effective alternatives for the execution of development and welfare projects. From 1954 the responsibilities of the chiefdoms were reduced while District Councils were endowed with further powers. As we have seen, the District Councils also proved incompetent but their powers were transferred not to the chiefdoms but to the field agents of the central government ministries. Since the mid-1950s, therefore, given the attenuation of their former predominant position among the rural populace, the chiefdom administrations have been concerned primarily with administrative functions, being essentially tax gathering and law and order instrumentalities.[2]

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In its discussion of local government institutions, the Cox Commission recommended in 1956 that the chiefdom administrations be overhauled with vigour and developed into efficient first tier grass roots local authorities. District Councils, it was urged, should become mainly consultative and deliberative bodies; the ordinary people were not effectively oriented to them and they had been unable to establish a strong rapport with the population. At the chiefdom level, however, the political culture 'fitted' with the structure and was thus able to sustain the institutions of chiefdom administration and give them force and legitimacy. Being in closer touch with the people and small enough for their comprehension, the chiefdom administrations were in a position 'to command the loyalties of the mass of the people'[3] and to arouse local interest and to develop popular enthusiasm. It was at the chiefdom level that local resources and local feelings could be most effectively called to the service of the community.[4]

Now, many years later, this view has come to be adopted as the guiding policy of the Sierra Leone Government which has decided that chiefdom administrations, refurbished and renovated, offer the best possibility of progress at the local level. To this effect, the Government secured the services of a local government expert under the United Nations Development Programme to advise on the organisation and development of the local government system in Sierra Leone. Here it is possible only to survey a few of the more salient reforms proposed.[5]

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[1]Ruth Finnegan and David J. Murray, 'Limba Chiefs', in Michael Crowder and Obaro Ikime, eds, *West African Chiefs* (Ile-Ife, 1970), p 422.

[2]Cox Report, *op cit*, pp 175, 213; and C. Viswasam, *op cit*.

[3]John Watson, 'Note on Future Developments in Local Government in Sierra Leone' unpublished paper dated 8 November 1954 (privately held), p 2.

[4]Cox Report, *op cit*, pp. 175, 213.

[5]See C. Viswasam, *op cit*.

Following the arguments of the Cox Commission, it is recommended that the machinery for rural development be that of the existing chiefdoms institutions. It is proposed that the Chiefdom Council continue to serve as an electoral college and as an advisory and ceremonial body but that the chiefdom Committee be recognised for what it is, namely, the effective local authority. But given the almost wholly illiterate membership of the Chiefdom Committees and the difficulties involved in recruiting staff of the proper calibre to man 148 chiefdom authorities, it is clear that guidance, education and training of Committee members and staff will be an essential task, one that could be performed in part by the appointment in each District of a new key figure – the Senior Local Government Officer. The Senior Local Government Officer would be the Secretary and Treasurer of every Chiefdom Committee and would seek to stimulate and supervise rural development. He would encourage and counsel the Chiefdom Committees within the District (there are on average twelve chiefdoms in each District) and assist them in planning and development activities. He would help them to identify their 'felt needs' and suggest how these could best be realized. He would be responsible for guiding local self-help activities within the broader purposes of district and national planning, and would also assist in selecting those projects that required to be supported by central government funds. The Senior Local Government Officer would also function as the central treasurer and central chief executive of the chiefdoms of the district. He would be responsible for financial management, the supervision of the execution of projects, and the enlisting of voluntary support in community self-help projects. Assisted by a group of staff (recruited from suitably qualified persons of the present Central Chiefdom Administration staff) he would work in cooperation with the District Officer.

It is further advocated that chiefdom administrations be relieved of financial responsibility for some local services to provide them with sufficient funds to undertake development projects. At the moment, the financial resources of the chiefdoms are barely adequate to cover costs of administration. It is proposed that the salaries of all types of chiefs, local court personnel and police as well as all other expenses connected with the maintenance of law and order be borne entirely by the central government[1] thus releasing the bulk of local revenue to the chiefdoms for local development. Local revenue, derived from local tax and other sources, would be utilized primarily for rural development and investment in productive projects in the chiefdoms. As a consequence, the belief that visible returns were not seen for taxes paid, a belief which has existed for years and which has contributed to the failing of chiefdom administration, would be gradually eradicated. Moreover, given the new reforms, the chiefdoms would participate in identifying local needs and

[1]Up to 1975 the government paid over half of the salaries of Paramount Chiefs, Chiefdom police and other staff. It is of interest to note that a conference of administrative officers in the Northern Province felt in 1971 that the grant rate of 50 per cent of staff salaries was inadequate and that if chiefdoms 'were to fully participate in their development programmes, Government's contribution to salaries should be increased to 75 per cent'. See Minutes of Northern Province administrative officers conference, 9 February 1971, p 3. In 1975 the Government decided to take over fully the responsibility of meeting all the expenditure relating to salaries and other charges of the chiefdom administration.

determining the nature of services to be provided. The Senior Local Government Officer would assist in establishing priorities and determining the rural projects to be undertaken, and the availability of staff and financial resources as well as any district or national plans would have a bearing; but the chiefdom administration would be involved in determining resource allocation.[1] By initiating, planning and executing short-term development projects of local interest, the chiefdom administrations would provide immediate benefits and thus help to engender public confidence in them. And from this other advantages could subsequently flow such as the habits of self help and local self government which would lead to greater popular enthusiasm and participation in rural development.

Nonetheless, problems will remain in the case of small chiefdoms which, having paid the emoluments of local employees, will have too little money left to finance their essential projects. The financial weakness of many chiefdoms derives from their poor economic base and inadequate funds will remain a major problem, one that could be solved partly by the chiefdoms cooperating in joint ventures and partly by the central government providing the financial support which local authorities throughout the world today find essential. Under its current five-year National Development Programme, the Sierra Leone Government is committed to the allocation of grants of between 1 to 3 million Leones (£500,000 to £1,500,000) per annum for self help projects in the chiefdoms which have been approved by the District Planning Committees. Such grants will be given for projects for which the people have themselves already contributed either in the form of labour services, materials or cash. In addition, the Government will provide technical assistance for the planning and implementation of the projects. Aided self help projects, which constitute an important feature of the Plan, could not only lead to greater citizen participation in rural development but also to chiefdom administrations becoming instruments of local government satisfying to the people.[2]

There is a need to ensure that locally-executed developments at the chiefdom level are consistent with nationally determined objectives and priorities and that they conform to any plans for the development of the District as a whole. District Planning and Coordinating Committees, composed of central government field officers, MPs, and chiefdom representatives, are thus also proposed. Such bodies would provide a forum for the discussion of development priorities in the District and chiefdoms, and provide the machinery for planning. They would also seek to achieve coordination and rationalization of local services provided by different government departments as well as provide that regular and continued surveillance of development at the chiefdom level.[3]

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[1]District plans will be drawn up within the framework of the national plan but within it they will 'reflect the decisions made by the representatives of the people and other local leaders on basis of the felt needs, wishes and aspirations of the people'. See *National Development Plan* 1974/75–1978/79 (Freetown, 1974), p 113.

[2]*National Development Plan, op cit*, pp iii, 99, 103-4.

[1]*Ibid*, pp 101, 112-13.

These proposed reforms and others which cannot be discussed here (such as schemes for staff development and in-service training and the establishment of proper accounting systems as well as a soundly conceived local government loans authority) promise to remedy some of the major deficiencies of rural local government in Sierra Leone and to provide the administrative infrastructure for the activation of the energies of the people for rural development. Of course problems will still remain. There will be problems of securing a sufficient number of adequately qualified Senior Local Government Officers to handle their demanding positions; of improving the quality of personnel generally at the chiefdom level; and of remedying accounting weaknesses. Tensions will also arise in the relations between field administrators and elected representatives. But the effort to involve the ordinary people in the process of development as well as to mobilize their support for chiefdom administration requires further reforms not considered by the UNDP expert if local self government is to take hold. Further reforms regarding the mechanism and organization of chiefdom administration are perhaps necessary at the outset to prevent continuing popular disillusionment with chiefdom institutions.

In the first place it is important that the chiefdom officials be popularly elected; at least the ultimate goal should be a chiefdom administration composed solely of democratically elected persons. The people must be in a position to control their own representatives to ensure that they serve the various interests of the rural populace for otherwise the abuse of authority and opportunism may follow; and a representative chiefdom administration would possess the legitimacy and authority necessary to mobilize popular support for development effort. The existence of meaningful elections would be the first step towards affording an opportunity for the people to participate in rural government. Even if it is considered desirable for the present not to have a chiefdom authority wholly elected by the people, at least the representative members should outnumber those holding 'hereditary' positions such as Parmount Chiefs, Speakers, and Section Chiefs.

If the Chiefdom Councils are to be retained then it needs to be ensured that they are, as in theory, democratically elected and not, as in practice, indirectly selected by chiefdom influentials and notables. Moreover, the Chiefdom Committees, the organs of executive authority, should be composed of a majority of persons, either popularly elected or elected by the Chiefdom Council, together with, if considered necessary, a small minority of persons holding 'hereditary' positions. For too long chiefdom administrations have been manipulated and dominated by a narrow 'elite' group composed predominantly of Paramount Chiefs and their close allies. Domination by such an elite can only encourage apathy and indifference and continue the current mood of popular disillusionment.

If 'hereditary' officials are retained, then their recruitment should also be above suspicion and, in the eyes of the chiefdom people, legitimate. Paramount Chiefs, for example, are elected not by the adult population but by the Chiefdom Council, the membership of which is not always representative of the chiefdom people and is often manipulated. Rival contestants in chieftaincy elections have engaged in

various practices to influence membership of the chiefdom Council. But more important has been political intervention from leading members of the ruling party which has been decisive in determining who becomes Paramount Chief. In spite of the irregularities, few calls have been made for the revision of the electoral procedure – such as having Paramount Chiefs directly elected by the adult population of the chiefdom; but much criticism has been levelled against central interference in chiefdom affairs. A mood of disillusionment has been widespread among people in those chiefdoms where chiefs have been regarded as imposed from above rather than as installed through popular choice. Selection of 'hereditary' officials, just like that of other Chiefdom Committee members, has to be properly conducted if chiefdom authorities are to possess the legitimacy and authority necessary to energize support for local development.

A clear definition is also required of the role and functions of persons holding 'hereditary' positions. Should they hold purely nominal and ceremonial positions? In the case of many Paramount Chiefs it is clear that they perform few important administrative functions. Almost half of them are presently illiterate and few, if any, have received administrative training.[1] Moreover, in recent years Paramount Chiefs have become intimately involved in partisan politics in the carrying out of their powers. Ruling political parties have used Paramount Chiefs to muster support at election time as well as to harass and intimidate opponents. When a new party has then come to power, Paramount Chiefs have been placed in an invidious position as they hastened to come to terms with the new 'government of the day'. If, as the Cox Commission proposed in 1956, they were to give up their administrative and executive authority, the office of the Paramount Chief would be less susceptible to the strains of politics.[2] It could also lead to a reduction in intra-chiefdom intrigue and conflict arising from the fact that Paramount Chiefs enjoy profits of their office and influence allocation of, albeit limited, chiefdom resources. Given the perquisites and privileges of the office of Paramount Chief, members of rival dynasties have frequently sought to have incumbents removed from the chieftancy. If Paramount Chiefs were merely ceremonial heads and if the perquisites of office were clear and regulated, then the motivations behind intrigue would diminish as well. In time, of course, the existence of the institution of chieftancy would come under consideration although, at the moment, there is little popular support for its abolition and all political parties have been committed to its preservation.

It has often been argued that most of the chiefdoms in Sierra Leone are too small in area or population or financial resources to sustain an adequate scope or level of administration. But to form viable units large enough to secure administrative efficiency and provide a variety of service there would have to be mergers of a number of chiefdoms. A policy of amalgamation of chiefdoms was pursued in Sierra Leone during the 1940s and 1950s in an attempt to raise the size of chiefdoms to a more feasible level. The colonial government encouraged the amalgamation

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[1]For some personal details on Paramount Chiefs, see *Provinces Handbook* 1969/70 (Freetown) pp 3-14.

[2]Cox Report, *op cit*, p 149.

of chiefdoms which were geographically contiguous and of some common affinity to form viable units. Amalgamation, however, led to severe intra-chiefdom conflicts and has in recent years invariably met with resistance due to apprehension among persons that their particular unit will be disadvantaged in the enlarged chiefdom. This is because amalgamation has not always been followed by a fair and equitable distribution of posts and powers among the several amalgamated units. Rotational crowing – each component part providing a Paramount Chief in turn – has been urged by smaller chiefdoms merged with larger ones, and furthermore calls have been made for an administrative agreement whereby other posts, such as Speakers and Court Presidents (now known as Chairmen of Courts) are evenly distributed to ensure that power is not weighted on the side of a single unit of the amalgamation.[1] But apart from the adoption of a procedure in some chiefdoms whereby one section produces the Paramount Chief and another the Speaker, successive governments have so far not done much to remedy these deficiencies in amalgamated chiefdoms; unless this is done any policy of amalgamation will lead to people of the aggrieved sections becoming alienated and thus jeopardize effective local participation in rural development. In place of amalgamation, another alternative, frequently advocated in the past, could be considered: the federating of chiefdom treasuries. Groups of chiefdoms could federate by paying their revenues into a common treasury and deciding how the revenues would be spent. Thus would be created areas of a more viable magnitude, which would reduce administrative costs and avoid unnecessary duplication, while retaining the identity of the chiefdoms concerned. Chiefdoms in a District could, by pooling their resources, be able to secure central services for themselves which it would be beyond the resources of the individual chiefdoms to afford. Moreover, chiefdoms could enter into collaborative arrangements with each other for the provision of common services. But whatever the cooperative arrangements, efforts need to be made to devise ways of accommodating chiefdom structures with the requirements of functions.

Finally, care must be taken to curb private interests at the expense of the general chiefdom interest. It was the unwillingness of members to bridle their personal impulses for the sake of general objectives that led to the disruption of the coherence and unity of the District Councils. The solidarity of chiefdom institutions is also fragile and councillors must be willing to pursue the broader public interest rather than their own private or sectional goals. The chiefdom administrations must seek to ensure, for example, that wealth is equitably distributed – that all groups and areas participate equally in development – for otherwise political conflicts will seriously impair their functioning. But councillors cannot be readily induced to forget their factional conflicts and agree to act as a community in social and economic matters. Issues will doubtless be perceived in terms of how they benefit councillors personally as well as their local clients and supporters, and decisions are likely to be

[1]See File NP/P/2/01, District Officer, Kambia to Provincial Secretary, Northern Province, 1 August 1969: 'amalgamation as it exists in this District is rightly looked upon by the smaller sector of the amalgamation as a monstrous wedlock between two unequal partners because it does not make for fair and equitable distribution or allocation of power or posts among the two partners'. (Provincial Secretary Office, Northern Province, Makeni).

highly particularistic rather than be influenced by technical-economic-allocative criteria. This has to be recognized and the Government must therefore be in a position to intervene and control decision-making for the sake of efficiency and the interest of the collective welfare. Yet the government must not be seen to thwart local initiative and the fledgling grass roots democracy. The need to strike a balance between central control and local participation will be a continuing and searching problem.

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A scheme of reform of chiefdom administration has to be formulated which recognizes the practical realities, especially the local constraints of financial and manpower resources. If the rural economy of Sierra Leone is to be developed, it is essential that the machinery of chiefdom administration be reformed and overhauled and identified with the welfare of the people. This entails a number of major developments: First, the promotion of a coordinated approach to chiefdom development and the provision of guidance and technical skills through the office of such a person as the Senior Local Government Officer: secondly, the building up of the institutions of chiefdom government so that the people can largely undertake development through their own initiative and participation; and finally the existence of a measure of supervision and, if necessary, the veto of the central and field governments. The reforms proposed could mark the beginning of the process of rebuilding and revitalising chiefdom administrations so that they become instruments of government satisfying to the people. Yet these reforms will have to be followed by further reforms, particularly the reforms of the Ministry of the Interior's (and the field administration's) structure, organization and procedures for controlling, supervising, advising and assisting chiefdom administrations. It must not be overlooked that much of what is wrong has resulted from the central government's action and inactions. The development of Sierra Leone's rural economy will depend on institutional reform both at the centre and the periphery.

But, as one writer has pointed out, the problem is not so much one of government as of politics. The 'structure of party politics in Sierra Leone greatly hinders the rationalization of local government. The central [political] elite depend upon the support of chiefs, in return for which the latter are permitted a large influence in local politics through the archaic Native Administration system.'[1] Dependent as they have been politically on the Paramount Chiefs and the chiefdom officers for mustering political support, government parties, have done little to reform the system of local government in ways that would alienate their local-level clients. With the ending of interparty competition in Sierra Leone since mid-1973, however, the climate for a rationalization of chiefdom government within the context of a one-party state may be more conducive.

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[1]M. Kilson, *op cit*, p 216.

A Study of Panchayati Raj in Haryana

R. S. CHAUDHRY*

Most countries in the Third World have now accepted the challenge of simultaneous development in the social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. To achieve these goals, models have had to be designed to suit local conditions, and strategies formulated to implement them. The political leaders of India opted for a democratic model of planned development, and in the early 1950s the strategy of Community Development was devised to bring about the overall transformation of the country's predominantly rural population. However, the ambivalent nature of the programme, especially the bureaucratic methods of implementation, led to the strategy's failure. At the end of the 1950s, after the famous Balvantrai Mehta report,[1] an alternative strategy of decentralization in rural areas based on a pyramid structure of local councils, known as Panchayati Raj, was designed to achieve the objectives of development and democratization.

Within a broad framework, each state was allowed to frame its own system of Panchayati Raj. Some variation was required by local conditions, but it is clear that structural differences have been matched by differences in performance and output, in terms both of economic development and of democratic participation. A number of studies have been made of Panchayati Raj at the level of the individual state and district, and some comparative studies have also been written.[2] The North Indian State of Haryana has so far been neglected, and this paper sets out to fill the gap. After outlining changes that have taken place in the institutions of Panchayati Raj in Haryana, it will discuss the behavioural dimensions and attempt to relate them to some of the contextual aspects of rural society.[3]

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[1]Government of India, Committee on Plan Projects, *Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, New Delhi 1957.

[2]For an excellent bibliography on Panchayati Raj, see that compiled by P. C. Mathur, in M. V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain, eds, *Panchayati Raj, Planning and Democracy*, Bombay, 1966; also V. A. Pai Panandikar, 'District Administration', in Indian Council of Social Science Research, *A Survey of Research in Public Administration*, New Delhi, 1973.

[3]The empirical base of the findings is a field study carried out by the author in two districts of Haryana in 1973 in collaboration with Mr A. Moulton of Chicago University, during which a large number of villagers, officials, Panchayati Raj leaders, and state legislators were interviewed.

Haryana was created as a separate state on 1 November 1966 by the linguistic reorganization of the Punjab.[1] The undivided Punjab had introduced Panchayati Raj in 1962 by enacting the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1962, and amending the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952, for this purpose. The institutional pattern thus established broadly conformed to the model suggested by the Balvant Rai Mehta report. It provided for a three-tier structure, with Gram Sabhas (village assemblies) and Gram Panchayats (village councils) at the base, Panchayat Samitis (block councils) at the development block level, and Zila Parishads (district councils) at the district level.[2] In 1971 and 1973 the Haryana Government made changes which diverge significantly from the all-India norm.[3]

The councils, their elected officers, and the government officials responsible to them have all been affected. Probably the most significant change has been the abolition of the Zila Parishads, so that Haryana now has a two-tier structure. At the same time the powers of the various elements of the Panchayati Raj structure have been reduced. The Gram Sabha has lost its status as a body corporate, and the Gram Panchayat's powers have been reduced. The Panchayat Samiti has lost control of a number of functions such as agricultural production and cattle fairs.

At the time of the field study it was observed that the meetings of the Gram Sabha and the Gram Panchayats were poorly attended, while the meetings of the Panchayat Samiti had become a mere formality. Members took no interest in the proceedings and plans were not prepared or discussed. Their main interest was to claim allowances and to demand a few material favours for themselves and their supporters.

A further aspect of the changes has been a devaluation of the roles of the elected officials. The Sarpanch (chairman of the village council) is now elected by the other members of the Panchayat and not by the village electorate, and he can be removed from office by a vote of no-confidence passed by a simple rather than a three-fifths majority. His executive authority has been curtailed, and he no longer has the power to maintain records and administer funds. There has been an accompanying change in role expectation. The circumscribed nature of the Sarpanch's position has been brought home to him, and he no longer tries to usurp the role of government official. Consequently, the Sarpanches have become apathetic to the development programmes whose local planning and implementation they are supposed to be concerned with. Chairmen of Panchayat Samitis have similarly lost authority. Their executive powers have been diminished, particularly with regard to the

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[1]District boundaries have been altered since, but in 1966 Haryana consisted of the old Punjab districts of Karnal, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Mahendragarh, and Hissar, and parts of Sangrur and Ambala. For the creation of Haryana, see Ranbir Singh Chaudhry, 'Genesis of Demand for Vishal Haryana', *Journal of the Society for the Study of State Governments*, Vol 1, No 1 (1967).

[2]For Panchayati Raj in the Punjab, see S. Bhatnagar, *Panchayati Raj inKangra District*, New Delhi, 1974, and R. L. Khanna, *Panchayati Raj in Punjab*, Chandigarh, 1966.

[3]These changes have been brought about by the Haryana Act 19 of 1971, and by the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads (Haryana Amendment) Act, 1973.

recruitment and control of the Samiti's own staff, and in respect of the Block Development Officer (BDO).[1] Instead of considering themselves the masters of the officials, they now treat them as equals or superiors. Like the ordinary members of the council, they too look on Panchayati Raj as a means of obtaining material benefits. Overall, the popularly elected councils within the Panchayati Raj system have become increasingly sluggish and lacking in initiative. As the prismatic model of society predicts, where there is uneven development of political and administrative structures, the political side will be dominated by the relatively more developed administrative.[2]

At the official level, there have also been changes, both of a structural and behavioural nature. The BDO occupies a pivotal place in the whole strategy of Panchayati Raj. Apart from his role as chief executive of the Panchayat Samiti, he has to exercise supervision, control and guidance over the Gram Panchayats. In case the Panchayat fails to manage the village common land (*shamlat* land) properly, he can act as administrator, and in case the Panchayat is superseded or suspended by the State Government, he would exercise its functions. In recent years, however, his position has changed. While he has been freed from his subordination to the chairman of the Panchayat Samiti, he now has to assist the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of the district and the Subdivisional Magistrate (Civil) in their multifarious general duties, for example small savings, family planning and food procurement drives, and collections for various funds. It is also alleged that he has to further the political interests of the party in power, particularly at election times. Although some BDOs are able to accommodate all local groups, or at least those which have some power, others survive only be developing links with one or other of the leading figures in the area, the Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti himself, or the leader of the opposition group, if they are powerful figures, or possibly with the local member of the Legislative Assembly or the DC. There has thus been a change in the BDO's role from developmental to administrative and political. This change can be attributed to the continuation of one-party dominance, centralization and bureaucratization, which form the context for Panchayati Raj in Haryana.

The early phase of Panchayati Raj was marked by strain between officials and non-officials. The BDO, whose post had been established under the earlier Community Development programme, found himself subordinate to local politicians whom he considered his intellectual inferiors, while the Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti was given overnight authority and often considered the BDO as his personal servant. These problems of role adjustment have now been largely overcome. Spheres of authority have been more clearly demarcated by legal changes, while both sides have learnt to share power and patronage. One result of the recent changes

[1] Although a government-appointed official, the BDO is supposed to act as the chief executive of the Panchayat Samiti, and be responsible for the implementation and co-ordination of all development programmes in the area. Before 1973 he was under the administrative control of the chairman.

[2] F. W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society*, Boston, 1964.

in the structure of Panchayati Raj has in fact been to deprive both of some of their powers, while paucity of funds has reduced the amount of patronage available.

Although one major aim of Panchayati Raj is to allow the development of grass-roots leadership, in recent years the system in Haryana has been penetrated by the external political and administrative structures. In particular, the Members of the Legislative Assemblies (MLAs) have been playing a greater part. They are now allowed to hold office within the Panchayat Samitis. Earlier, most MLAs took little or no interest in elections to Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis, and their concern was limited to seeing that the limited demands of their supporters were fulfilled. Provided he was not considered to be harmful to their political interests, they did not bother about the posting and transfer of the BDO. A BDO who had the backing of the Samiti chairman could afford to ignore the local MLA, and similarly the chairman could emerge as a political rival of the MLA. Today however, MLAs take an active interest in the election of Samiti chairmen, they play a significant role in the postings and transfers of BDOs, and they interfere in day-to-day administration. These changes can be attributed to the magnified role of the MLA within a political system dominated by one party, and to the poor quality of Panchayati Raj leadership.

Although an object of Panchayati Raj was to be the democratization of district administration through the curtailment of the powers of the DC, early steps in this direction have now been reversed. With the abolition of the Zila Parishads, their powers of supervision, guidance, and coordination over the Panchayat Samitis have been transferred to the DC. The post of District Development and Panchayat Officer has been converted into Additional General Assistant to the DC. The posting of BDOs is very much influenced by the choice of the DC. These trends support Ferrel Heady's hypothesis[1] that bureaucracy in developing countries tends to be usurpative. Bureaucrats tend to expand their roles and exploit the absence of well organized interest groups and the weakness of the political structure.

The introduction of Panchayati Raj also seems to have made little difference to other long-established features of Indian administration. Generalists continue to dominate over specialist and technical officials. At their respective levels, the DC and the BDO exercise administrative control over the officials from the various functional departments such as agriculture and irrigation. The generalists dominate the decision-making process and their attitudes towards the specialists are marked by presumptions of superiority. While the generalists feel they do not get the requisite cooperation, the specialists feel dissatisfied with their subordinate role. In general, there is not sufficient structural differentiation and functional specialization.

The overall character of Panchayati Raj administration continues to be elitist. The higher level officials, both generalist and specialist, come from the upper strata of society and they continue to maintain elitist orientations in their work. Senior

[1]Ferrel Heady, *Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective*, Englewood Cliffs, 1966, pp 99-105.

officials, apart from keeping their distance from their junior colleagues, establish contacts only with the well-to-do landholders, and not with the small landholders, tenants, artisans, and agricultural labourers. Consequently, only the large and medium landholders reap the fruit of development programmes, and poorer sections of society, who have no channel of communication with the administration, are deprived of their benefits. Within the present organization of rural society, it is difficult for the poor to articulate and express their interests.

In summary, it may be said that Panchayati Raj administration in Haryana has been bureaucratized, centralized, and politicized. Political, economic, and cultural factors have all contributed to these developments. Politically, Haryana has been marked by a one-party dominant party system without intra-party competition, strong leadership from the Chief Minister, under-developed political structures, and an absence of well-organized interest groups. Economically, and socially, Haryana shares with the rest of India a predominantly rural economy dominated by well-to-do landowners. The cultural content is neo-traditional.[1] Despite these changes in structural and behavioural patterns of Panchayati Raj, Haryana has nevertheless made rapid progress in the rural sector in the last decade.

[1]For the social, economic, cultural and political context, see Ranbir Singh Chaudhry, 'Party System in Haryana', a paper read to the Indian Political Science Congress at Chandigarh in October 1974, and Muni Lal, *Haryana – On the High Road to Prosperity*, Delhi, 1974. For a highly critical, if biased picture, see Hardwara Lal, *Emergence of Rough and Corrupt Politics, in India: Anatomy of a Chief Minister.*

The University's Changing Role in a Developing Country: The Tanzanian Case*

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My assignment in this paper is to attempt to place in context the role of a University in a young, small, relatively poor and developing country like Tanzania – my own country. Simply put, the task is to discuss the place, role, and social accountability of a University in a Tanzanian setting. This role in all its aspects – whether institutional, ideological, human or societal – must be clearly defined both in its theory, to be the yardstick and the guideline of what we in the Third World countries seek, and in its practice so that its implementation and realization is not *ad hoc* or haphazard but a conscious, directed effort towards our goals and ideals. It must be one of honesty in discovering weaknesses and contradictions if it is to let us perceive reality clearly enough to set about changing it creatively.

At independence, only 10 per cent of our people were in non-agricultural activities and of the rural population three-quarters lived in scattered homesteads. This large segment of our people continued, for a period well after independence, to be provided by the State with perhaps 5 per cent to 10 per cent of basic human needs in the form of communal services – as I will spell out later in the course of this paper. Its members were denied the means to increase their productivity and incomes to meet their basic personal consumption needs. Illiteracy was common, especially among the adults in rural areas who through their agricultural activities accounted for the largest portion of our national investible surplus and foreign exchange earnings. Decisions on what should, or what should not, be done were handed down from the urban centres of government to the rural areas through a system of government inherited from the colonial era administration and known as *indirect rule*. *Per capita* income was around £20 (or Tshs. 400), this was divided very unevenly, most peasant farmers' income amounting to less than £10 p.a. Capital outflows were common and open. The forty years of colonial administration produced perhaps *sixty* graduates – all from outside Universities as we had no institution of higher learning ourselves until 1961. Then we started one as a con-

*This paper is a revised version of an address given at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, in November 1977, in the 'Crisis in Third World Education' series of lectures.

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stituent college first of the University of London and subsequently of the University of East Africa, but until 1963 having only the Faculty of Law. Racial discrimination at work places, racial segregation in schools and hospitals, racial discrimination in wages and salaries for comparable jobs and urban density zoning which all favoured non-Africans were all common.

Recalling that during the independence struggle we made several political pledges to bring about life more abundant for every Tanzanian after independence through a socialist transformation of our society and economy; that, but for the commitment of the general mass of the people, our struggle would not have ended in triumph; and realizing that the development we sought was about maximizing the factors of economic growth at our command – which were really land and human resources – we came to the conclusion that the only development strategy which could fulfil our pre-independence political pledges was one which would be brought about by the people themselves – again, through their committed involvement in a planned national development strategy to eliminate ignorance, disease, poverty and exploitation. When I say 'we' here, I mean the leadership of our Party and State. Part of our colonial heritage was that we were a new, narrow elite and to build mass participation we had to start by working to mobilize it from the top. For the workers and peasants to be effective in this latter struggle – education – writ large – is essential. The struggle, to borrow President Nyerere's words, is:

'To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which each can live at peace with his neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.'

That a University must serve the Society which constitutes it and of which it is part and parcel is so obvious as to be almost a truism. Indeed, that is what the social accountability of any nation institution is about. Any national institution which ignores its responsible involvement in the solving of the problems of its environment prescribes a recipe for its disaster or even extinction. Those who were entrusted with the responsibility of managing the affairs of the University College of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania at its inception in 1961, were, indeed, conscious of this imperative. Thus, the first Principal, the Canadian Professor R. C. Pratt, once said: 'The University of East Africa must be a committed institution actively relating our work to the communities it seeks to serve.'

President Nyerere, the University College's Visitor and now Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam, once reiterated this sentiment by saying that:

'The University in a developing society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists, and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals. . . . We in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a University – of any type – if it promotes real development of our people. . . . The role of a University in a developing nation is to contribute: to give ideas, manpower, and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development.'

There is evidence to show that this principle is not merely recognized in many

Third World countries but also that there have been many serious attempts to practise it. There is also, however, evidence to show that neither the quantum nor the results of such attempts at practice have been commensurate to the effort that is being made in, and the resources being allocated to, Third World Universities. The historical and practical or mundane reasons for this are obvious and among them are the fact that a University in a formerly colonized country is a transplanted institution from a metropolitan country. Cultivated in simulated metropolitan environments, such Universities suffer from the colonial legacy of dependence on the political, economic and social machinery and, more basically and dangerously, on ideas and goals inculcated by the colonial masters in newly independent countries. The self-serving internal interests of such Universities, as institutions, or even their genuine beliefs as to how they should serve society are simply neither adequate nor, in many cases, even relevant to that society's needs. With such a legacy or background, it has obviously been a very difficult task to achieve the ideal University genuinely serving societies and communities in the manner posited by Professor Pratt and President Nyerere. This is not a simple matter of being radical or conservative; there are few more Eurocentric ideologies than those of the New Left and few more authoritarian approaches than those of the intellectual who seeks to tell workers and peasants what they should seek and do because he (as an intellectual) knows better than they do.

With the passage of time, the need for Universities in Third World countries to become deliberately less insulated and less metropolitan in constitution and outlook has increased, is increasing and will continue to increase consonant with the evolving national ethos and development strategies of these countries. These changes have been happening to some extent, albeit more often than not by accident, and without any conscious and directed force. They seem *ad hoc* and pragmatic, being part of the inevitable adaptation of any alien thing to a new habitat.

That is what compelled us in Tanzania, when we established our first fully-fledged University in Dar es Salaam in 1970, to redefine the role of our University in terms of our political, economic, social and cultural ideals and ends. This, of course, had been happening progressively during the University College days. Increasingly, it became a conscious and directed exercise as illustrated by the words of Professor Pratt and President Nyerere to which I have made reference earlier. But with the establishment of our own national Univerity in 1970, the need for a reassessment of the University as a vital national institution requiring, like other national institutions, a change, revitalization and also a more clearly defined and specifically Tanzanian role became imperative if the University were to achieve maximum efficiency in the furtherance of, as well as basic relevance to, the national aims embodied in the Arusha Declaration.

The establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam was, *first*, an acknowledgement in concrete terms of the principle that the University must serve society. And in the Tanzanian situation, this really means that the University must identify itself with the nation and the ruling party – since in our Constitution national policy formulation emanates from the Party and the implementation of such policies by the

Government and other national institutions is under the aegis of the Party – in a common endeavour to institutionalize and enhance social, political and distributive justice as an operational strategy of development replacing either an absence of justice or actual institutionalized injustice, and to assure human basic needs to all our people. By basic needs I mean: effective access to consumer goods such as food, clothing, and housing; providing basic communal services such as health, primary and adult education, clean portable water and roads; creating employment opportunities for all able-bodied persons at levels of productivity and fairness of remuneration that enable the worker to meet his basic consumption needs and avoid the need for massive welfare payments; creating industries to produce the capital and intermediate goods; creating knowledge and knowledge use capacity for, and by, all Tanzanians; attaining foreign exchange earning power, surplus generation and growth infrastructure to meet the individual and communal basic needs more fully over time as well as creating an institutional base appropriate to the strategy and, in particular, to worker and peasant participation in the processes of decision-taking and evaluation of results as well as of decision-implementation. To this end, the Act establishing the University of Dar es Salaam provides that it must strive to work for the benefit of the people of Tanzania in accordance with the principles of socialism and self-reliance accepted by the people of Tanzania.

Second, the establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam was a recognition that principles must be put into practice if they are to be realities and not illusions. I have noted earlier the factors that made this difficult, including the fact of variation, even divergence, in the approach to goals and means for achieving goals which flowed from the historical and metropolitan cultural roots of such emerging Universities. The establishment of a national University was designed to overcome these difficulties and make the practice of the principle possible.

Third, the establishment of our national University was an attempt to effect a comprehensive definition of what a national University must do towards practising the principle of serving society in the particular context of Tanzania. Thus the Act establishing the University charges the University to create a sense of public responsibility in the educated, and to prepare students to work with the people, and to promote planned education and cultural development while not foregoing, at the same time, the promotion of learning and research in the pursuit of truth.

Fourth, the establishment of our national University was a renewal, a re-charging, of the institution of the University as an administrative machine, a workplace and a production unit. Even a machine needs servicing and tuning-up or change of its vital parts in order to run smoothly. With the establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam, an almost new machine was assembled. The fuel, this time, was to include the Party and Government of the United Republic of Tanzania as well as the staff and students of the University. And in its component parts, already changes have taken place that reflect the renewal and rejuvenation of the system as a whole.

The principle having been acknowledged, the decision to put it into practice taken, some of the past obstacles to this removed, a detailed definition given of what

this practice must mean in terms of Tanzanian goals and conditions, and machinery set up for effecting it, the task was perceived as one of mounting an on-going exercise to translate these ideals and hopes into practice, to use this opportunity and machinery to get the result we want.

The people who make up the University community in pursuing their immediate tasks to administer, to research, to provide technical and supporting services, to learn and to teach, are expected to pursue such tasks with this principle in view. They have constantly to ask themselves in what way their individual activities will promote the economic, social, political, cultural and human development of the people of Tanzania and liberate them from foreign captivity in these areas. None of them is exempt from this imperative. None of them can afford to be an innocent bystander.

The University of Dar es Salaam, of course, was only established in 1970 and whatever justifiable pride we may feel, we cannot don our laurels and sit back. Seeking the truth, teaching and moulding our youth, relating its efforts to our goals of development are all dynamic processes that need constant vigilance, renewal and change for the relevance and effect to be of any use. It is to this vigilance, the constant dynamic responses to the details and variations of our goals, our resources and our day-to-day actions as a nation that our University must commend itself in order to serve society. Indeed, as I shall indicate later, we still face very major challenges and problems and not merely minor imperfections and occasional mistakes.

National Universities, like the University of Dar es Salaam, dependent upon Government for their creation and continued material support are unlike classical 'independent' Universities. Their relations with their ruling Parties and Governments need not be ambiguous. Our University and its functions and goals form part of the functions and goals of our Party and Government. The University's task, therefore, is to fulfil the task assigned to it including that of objective search for truth and its communication to the Party and Government even when the University community has different versions of truth within itself or when it questions aspects of the appropriateness, feasibility or desirability of current State or Party practice or thinking.

Clearly a University whose members merely applaud all decisions and practice in an unexamined manner like a chorus of praise singers is not merely useless but dangerous. The University, like the human brain, must muscle in to some major conflicts in our society, to make clear, for instance, the need of giving to the world a demonstration of democracy within the context of our One-Party System, a democracy, not only in rhetoric but also in deed; not only in patriotic songs, useful as these may be, but also in economic, social and political justice. The University, further, has a duty to warn of mistakes and errors, to point to new knowledge, to raise questions for discussion even when these appear to challenge deeply-held beliefs or entrenched practices. Equally clearly, it is *not* the role of the University to set itself up as an intellectual or political 'opposition' holding fast to its version of the truth

and dispensing only critical comments to those who have been chosen by the workers and peasants to take and to implement basic decisions. Criticism is a duty of a University – and one, indeed, which a State or Party prevents a University from performing only at a high cost and a great risk; but criticism without the knowledge underlying it is sterile. Indeed the purpose of criticism is not to cast opprobrious words and pass by but to challenge present reality as a first step towards engaging in its transformation.

It would be preposterous to pretend that the roles of questioner, critic, teacher and adviser which a University must play do not lead to tensions with other institutions. None of us is totally happy to be criticized, to provide the information on which criticism is based, to see the true dialogue as necessarily involving quite severe criticism of oneself and others. However, this is not, in practice, the area in which the University of Dar es Salaam has been notably inadequate or the State and Party notably unable to understand and relate to the University. Criticism has been voiced – and published. Some such criticism has irritated by its sweeping generality; some has been sought and not provided on errors which all could see but which eluded actual solution. In general, however, there has been a fairly healthy acceptance of the need for critical questioning, provision of alternatives and free-ranging questions for knowledge.

The deeper problems are those of the nature of a University in a transition to socialism. These include:

1 creating a University pattern of production relations which makes it a participatory, egalitarian community;
2 building a pattern of knowledge relations which recognizes that all are learners and all contribute to their own learning and that of others;
3 creating a genuine realization by academic staff and students that workers and peasants are human beings who know a great deal about their own work and who are the final judges of what decisions they, and the leaders they choose, should take;
4 achieving genuine, two-way, mutual participation and communication between University community members on the one hand, and workers and peasants on the other;
5 building positive relations between the members of the University community and the leaders, based on a mutual perception that the expert must describe reality and criticise mistakes as he sees them (not as the leaders wish them to be) and that the responsible leader, rather than the expert, the intellectual or the professional, must take decisions; and
6 moving towards a context in which students and academic staff while feeling more capable to participate and less insecure about their future, are nonetheless also less arrogant and less isolated in the ways whereby they seek to make contributions to their ambience and achieve meaningful participation.

These principles are easy to state. To implement them is harder. However, I would be less than candid and less than helpful in contributing to a serious reflection on,

and discussion of, University development in Third World countries if, drawing on my past experience as a Member of the University College Council, Dar es Salaam, and subsequently First Chairman of the University when the College achieved that status in 1970, I did not look in some detail at six major tension and problem areas which such Universities, especially those established in countries which aspire to socialism, have faced and continue to face.

First, production relations at these Universities considered as workplaces tend to be hierarchical and fragmented on social formation lines which are not socialist or united. Administrators, academics and other staff and students tend to form distinct groups pursuing sub-class interests and conflicts. This often made harder to solve by the lack of effective common bodies for dealing with work-relations; thus students and academic staff, where workers Councils have been established, do not participate effectively in such Councils and indeed, often fail to perceive themselves as workers. Efforts towards a more genuine self-perception of all University workers, including students and academics of the University, as a workplace in which socialist production relations based on participation and dialogue – and not hierarchy and conflict – could be achieved, seem so far to have had limited success. Until they go further, the symptoms, that is, 'unruly' students, 'idle' academics, 'arrogant' administrators and 'lazy' non-academic staff, will continue to be perceived and to be used as slogans for attacking others and defending group interests. That route, as we know, does not even deal with the symptoms and much less the causes.

Second, knowledge relations at these Universities tend also to be hierarchical and exclusive. Hopefully the introduction of mature entry schemes, whereby nature students with work experience are admitted to these Universities, will begin to erode the view that students are empty vessels into whom the all-knowing faculty pour learning and that people outside the University are objects for research and manipulation on the basis of intellectual formulations not tested against the workers' and peasants' knowledge and perception of their own needs. Education is a process of exploration and dialogue which must be multi-directional (that is, student-teacher; teacher-student; student-student; research worker-other workers; other workers-research worker; and other workers-other workers) and must be seen as belonging to and directed by all participants and *not* owned and run by an elite of intellectual Platonic Guardians.

Third, University or, more accurately, student, administrator and academic staff attitudes to worker and peasants are often neither truly socialist nor truly participatory but Platonic. Too often intellectuals are perceived as self-less but dominant guardians who will tell the "masses" what they, the masses, should want. Too often calls for cadres and vanguards really are claims that the tiny community of intellectuals 'knows' what workers and peasants need, and how to achieve that which they need, better than the workers and peasants themselves or the leaders chosen by them.

Fourth, at least until very recently and then only in a few of these Universities,

interaction between the 'intellectual' and the worker or peasant has been both limited and hierarchical. The intellectual has often talked *to*, and not *with*, the workers and peasants and has studied them and 'their' problems as objects rather than studying such problems with the workers and the peasants as areas of mutual concern. The intellectual as well as the student, has often felt separate and superior and shown his feelings to be that quite unambiguously. We in Tanzania hope that the end of direct entry from school to University by first giving a workplace experience to all intending students, which experience is less separated and less specialized than National Service training, should help to overcome these attitudes on the part of our University students; in regard to many academics, both radical and conservative, I fear they remain a major obstacle to fulfilling the goals of these Universities.

Fifth, interaction between intellectuals and the leaders, especially Party leaders in the case of Tanzania, chosen by the workers and peasants has been only too often a dialogue of the deaf. Intellectuals, in my view, have failed to perceive that the role of the expert as an expert is to advise, to pose questions, to offer alternatives, to tell how goals can be reached and not to take basic decisions on behalf of the workers and peasants. Only workers and peasants and the leaders chosen by them have the right to take basic socio-economic decisions in society. In Tanzania, not surprisingly, the ruling Party has rejected this attempted usurpation of its role even though it appears to have succeeded in making clear, through political education, the reasons for the Party's intervention. Similarly, many managers, administrators and leaders have been unable to perceive that experts are critical to identifying both constraints, ways and means so that decisions can be taken and implemented effectively. Even more have failed to see that asking questions and engaging in dialogue are necessary for an expert if his advice and data are to be of any real value. The urgent need is for real dialogue leading to clearer perceptions of the responsibilities of both decision-takers and experts and greater awareness of the extent to which these can be complementary and not conflicting.

Sixth, the relations of both students and academic staff to the national political process and the national development effort is a subject marked by confusion and inadequate perceptions leading to mutual recrimination and withdrawal at least as often as to better mutual understanding and more fruitful participation. At least this was my impression until 1974 when I ceased to be Chairman of the University of Dar es Salaam. I got the impression that students then felt very uncertain as to their future and very isolated from participation in national affairs. Many academics, both national and expatriate, seemed to share these feelings of uncertainty and isolation. This problem has often not been adequately understood by those of us in Leadership positions or by many workers and peasants. We have tended to see academic staff as a highly privileged group – which is true, and students as already enjoying far above average standards of welfare and with safe career prospects for prestige jobs with real potential for satisfaction and at least moderate personal consumption welfare – which is also true. This blunted unawareness that many students and many academics really were and are concerned as to the meaning and safety of their future and really did, and do, feel isolated and either grudgingly accepted or rejected.

As a consequence of what I have just said, inadequate attention has been paid to dialogue, involvement and political education actually related to student and faculty concerns. Further, students have only too often wanted 'entry at the top' like the new graduate economist in one of the Ministries, where I was Principal Secretary, who used to 'instruct' the Head of his Division to spend the next week collecting and organizing data so that the graduate could use his inspired analytical skills without prior perspiration; similarly academics only too often appear to wish to be Platonic Guardians 'laying down the law' to leaders from an ivory tower with little concern for such tedious details as historical contexts, levels of productive necessity at a given time and place. It would be idle to deny that these attitudes have often provoked more irritation and anger than serious attempts to identify their causes and to find strategies involving leaders, workers and peasants, students and academic staff in achieving new perceptions and levels of consciousness to overcome them. Too often we have seen our University Campuses as being populated largely by privileged 'clever people' who wished to become a new intellectual ruling class without either accepting the duty to submit to worker and peasant control or the duty to work hard in order to achieve inspiration out of perspiration and analytical break-throughs out of dogged tackling of reality. That is a caricature of most of our students and faculty; but like all caricatures, it lives because it has some base in reality. It flows from all six of the problem areas which I have outlined earlier and is a social and institutional even more than an individual and personal contradiction. The role of a University, its academic staff and its students in a transition to new national just societies and in meeting basic human needs is not adequately understood by many of us – at the University Campuses, in leadership roles, in offices, on farms or factories. Worse still, the dialogue needed to increase that understanding, and level of consciousness has been, at best, spasmodic, often ill-natured and, too often, directed to personalities and symptoms and not to relationships and institutions.

These failings, contradictions and weaknesses have validity to most, if not all, Universities in Third World countries and especially those in countries which have chosen a socialist and self-reliant path to development. Indeed, they are failings, contradictions and weaknesses which have validity to most Universities and not just most Universities in the Third World but also in the developed countries. Every one of these criticisms has been directed, *inter alia*, at one time or another at American Universities, European Universities and British Universities by the workers, students, academic staff and other staff of the Universities of those countries. The weaknesses are also increasingly and clearly seen at the University of Dar es Salaam and are being actively struggled against. To ask what the problem is and to have a broad view of its nature is the necessary first step to solving it. To admit that 'mistakes are mistakes' is essential to acting to overcome their results and avoid repeating them.

Lest I be misunderstood: it was not my intention to suggest, in this paper, that all administrators, students, academic staff and other staff in the Universities of Third World countries, or indeed any Universities, illustrate these weaknesses nor is there a lack of interest in understanding the needs and problems of these Universities

by all leaders, business executives and administrators. On the contrary, there is an increasing number of positive developments on many of the points noted which, though far from being enough, are yet enough to constitute a first step.

In conclusion, then, the University in a Third World country, like Tanzania, because it is a national institution owing its establishment, survival and development to the tax-payer, must work towards producing graduates committed to the people's political, economic and social goals. The goals of transforming our economy and society must be implemented for the good of all and not for any privileged segment of our population whether capitalist, bureaucratic or intellectual. As President Nyerere once stressed:

'. . . Some of our citizens will have large amounts of money spent on their education, while others have none. Those who receive this privilege therefore have a duty to repay the sacrifice which others have made. They are like the man who has been given all the food available in a starving village in order that he may have strength to bring supplies back from a distant place.

If he takes his food and does not bring help to his brothers he is a traitor. Similarly, if any of the young men and women who are given education by the people of this Republic adopt attitude(s) of superiority, or fail to use their knowledge to help the development of this country, then they are betraying our Union.'

The University, therefore, in concert with other educational institutions, is responsible to society for turning out the human underpinnings of our restructured economy and society to assure that we do not slip back into exploiting or being exploited both as a nation and, even more critically, within the nation. To this end we expect from our University men and women who will contribute to the nation's development effort leadership and workmanship that will help us to climb out of entrenched poverty, ignorance and disease. We seek men and women who will serve as the shield of the nation in our international economic and political relations and who will provide the necessary bulwark and sheet anchor in our negotiations with the developed countries as we seek to choose and buy technology for our development and to obtain better terms for our exports and imports. Within the country, it is the University which must produce trained manpower to buttress our integrated rural development strategy and its complement – our basic industrialization strategy. For both these development strategies there is, first, need for human beings committed to distributive justice, participation, socialism, honest criticism including self-criticism and the quest for a clearer perception of reality and how it can be changed. That must be the duty of our educational system. Linked with it is a critical need for specific skills, knowledge and expertise. That task is so vast that it would not be possible for the University of Dar es Salaam alone to meet the nation's demands upon it. This is why, for certain specialized skills, Third World countries, like my own, will continue to use the openings offered to us by Universities in developed countries. In the context of the current North-South Dialogue, Third World countries are correct to state that they are really entitled to such openings if joint concern for *Development* is to be a reality and not a slogan to disguise reality. Were the conscience of leaders in developed countries sufficiently sensitive, such openings would increasingly be given to Third World countries at no cost, and not at enhanced fees, as the present trend in the West seems to be.

Book Reviews

An Introduction to the Sociology of Rural Development, NORMAN LONG; *Tavistock, London,* 1977; pp 221; £5.75 (hardback), £3.40 (paperback).

In contrast to the numerous monographs on rural development in specific societies of Africa, Asia and Latin America there have been relatively few books by sociologists which have attempted to synthesise this material, and present it in a form which is readable, free from jargon and thus accessible to a wider audience. Much of what has been written is either theoretically interesting but devoid of substantive material or, conversely, so rooted in the nitty-gritty of particular circumstances that genuine comparison and systematic analysis is difficult. It is a compliment to Norman Long that he has produced a well-written book which lives up to its author's intention. This is, we read in the Preface, to provide 'A general critical survey of relevant sociological and anthropological literature . . . (which) should integrate the discussion of theoretical and methodological topics . . . with an account of empirical findings so that the student might appreciate the interconnections between theory and research practice'.

Long's book takes as its organising principle the way that sociological and anthropological theory has dealt with developing societies and, rather less explicitly, the process of development. The author restricts himself, quite properly, to rural societies on the grounds that such societies are 'distinctive in the kinds of practical and analytical problems' they present (p 1). He excludes from consideration the current 'boom' in 'peasant studies' as well as the interest that North American rural sociologists have taken in the diffusion of innovations. Both bodies of literature, claims Long, require too specialised a treatment to merit their inclusion. The 'decision to keep squarely within the bounds of sociological types of analysis' was made despite an acknowledgement of 'the need to develop collaborative work'. However, it is claimed that an appraisal of one type of analysis might 'lead to more informed interchange between specialists of different backgrounds' (Preface). That this plausible statement of intent obscures some major weaknesses in the author's purpose is soon clear, however.

The book falls into easy, logical sections. Chapters Two and Three discuss the 'Modernization Approach' which pervaded most sociological writing on develop-

ment until the mid-1960s. This approach took it for granted that the underdeveloped countries could and would be 'modernized' as a result of contact with developed states, and that what was required was a change in the values of people within LDCs which would make possible a replication of European and North American experiences of economic development. This is to state the problem in rather bald terms, but Long's treatment of this literature is not a caricature, and his review of the arguments for this position is as fair as his critique is revealing. We are left in no doubt of the limitations of most of this work which, although inspired by Max Weber, failed to incorporate that writer's concern for historical specificity.

Chapter Four provides a review of Neo-Marxist and Marxist writing on rural development; interpretations which contrast vividly with what had been understood a decade or so earlier. Long identifies much that is valuable in the Neo-Marxist concentration on centre-periphery relations and insistence that the subordination and exploitation of the peasantry is a necessary condition for the development of the industrialised world. Marxist work on 'modes of production' is also considered of analytical value, by concentrating attention on the mechanism of underdevelopment and the way in which different modes are articulated. His eclecticism notwithstanding Long makes a plea for more empirical work to substantiate the utility of Marxist approaches. To some extent he provides this himself in Chapter Five which takes as its theme the analysis of entrepreneurship. In this chapter he argues that studies of individual entrepreneurs and their activities can be understood within a broadly 'dependency' perspective, providing that the individual's room for manoeuvre is recognised. For Long, middlemen and entrepreneurs provide the real substance of development and within given localities they are capable of participating in a genuine development process.

Chapter Six examines the sociological problems of planned social change, drawing broadly on India, Tanzania and Peru for evidence of the way rural development brings traumatic changes in the social structure. For non-sociologists in particular, this chapter is likely to be of considerable interest, although it makes no concessions to those who ask what sociologists' recommend *should* be done about rural areas in LDCs. Nor does it make clear how the theoretical argument of earlier chapters can contribute to understanding these 'problems'. The Conclusion restates, in unequivocal terms, the essence of Long's argument – that we should not regard development as induced in rural society by changes external to it, and that there is much to be gained from examining actor-oriented behaviour and integrating the analysis of this behaviour at the local level with regional, national and trans-national perspectives on development.

So much for what Norman Long has set himself and what he has achieved within these limits. The question remains – are these limits justified? Clearly a book can be true to its author's intentions without meeting a real need or tackling a subject in the best way possible. It is to these issues that we turn now.

There are a number of serious flaws in Long's book that deserve close attention despite the fact that the author is so obviously on top of his material and so adroit

at presenting it. First, a great deal is lost by restricting the review to sociological and anthropological literature. Most development courses are taught at the postgraduate level to students from LDCs whose principal interest in development is a very practical one. As an intelligent text for undergraduate students taking courses in the 'sociology of development' Long's book has considerable value. It will be less valuable to overseas students with little knowledge of sociology and less interest in the theoretical perspectives of the discipline.

Second, an opportunity has been missed in that Norman Long has not provided the broadly 'political economy' approach that has drawn scholars together from a variety of disciplines, notably economics, politics and sociology. There is too little on the state and the bureaucracy, on the demands of urban social classes, on changes in the 'terms of trade' between agriculture and industry and what might be termed 'technological imperatives' in rural development. It is surprising, and disappointing, that the 'peasant studies' literature which has proved so stimulating as a way of linking economic decision-making at the household level with the general drift of social and economic policy, should have been excluded from consideration. Third, there is too little reference made to empirical evidence, other than that taken from sociological monographs. Where is the data on the distributional effects of different development programmes? Or the evidence on resource-ratio decline in landholding societies? Or any of the basic economic indices which sociologists must interpret – and which might provide interpretations which elude the economist who is too obsessed with methodological rigour? Long reviews the anthropological literature extensively sometimes rather laboriously, but he does not attempt to relate it to the wider compass of development studies. This is an extremely competent synthesis of published material which, on the whole, has not been adequately reviewed before. It might have been a much more useful book, however, if it had given less space to the discredited approaches of an earlier generation of sociologists, and had reviewed work in a number of disciplines from the perspective of a trained sociologist with wide experience of LDCs. This is something which Norman Long is well qualified to do.

MICHAEL REDCLIFT

Judicialism in Commonwealth Africa, B. O. NWABUEZE; With a foreword by Chief Rotimi Williams; *C. Hurst and Company, London, in association with Nwamife Publishers, Enugu and Lagos*; xii + 324 pages (including Index); £9.50.

In the 15 years since law-teaching began in Nigeria, the one legal scholar to emerge with an undisputed claim to an international reputation has been Professor Nwabueze. Not only has the sheer volume of his writings been impressive but that he has continued to develop incisiveness and breadth of vision from his first, rather straightforward *Machinery* of Justice in Nigeria (Butterworths, 1963) to the present study is a fair indication of his genuine stature.

Judicialism in Commonwealth Africa is the third volume in Professor Nwabeuze's trilogy on African constitutional problems, the first two being *Constitutionalism in*

the Emergent States (1973) and *Presidentialism in Commonwealth Africa* (1975). In this detailed examination of the role of courts in Government, he has drawn widely upon writings and decisions from the United States and non-African Commonwealth countries, though he remains best informed about Nigeria and Zambia, the countries in which he has spent most of his time.

He emerges as the champion of an 'activist' judiciary and finds the African judiciary too 'passive' – too strongly influenced by the deadening hand of the English legal tradition and English legal education. And he seeks solutions in the adoption of nationalist ideologies, conscious constitutional policy-making on the part of judges and the development of African legal education to improve the intellectual quality of the Bench and Bar.

Much of the first half of the book will appeal only to lawyers. It contains discussions of the Nature of Judicial Power, the Justiciability of Constitutions, the problem of Concrete Adverseness, and the Impact of the Law of Remedies. These chapters are excellently documented and fluently argued, showing the wealth of information and imagination which are at the author's disposal.

But it is the second half of the book, building upon the political assumptions articulated in the earlier chapters, which is both entertaining and provocative. The two chapters of general interest on which anyone will want to dwell are those on the Judiciary in a Revolutionary Situation and on the Independence of the Judiciary.

What emerges from Chapter VII is that Professor Nwabueze is no pragmatist. He admires the stance courageous and is uncompromising on the rigid criteria for determining the legitimacy of a regime. The judge who is committed to one regime should not swear allegiance to another which has toppled it and should not purport to exercise judicial power under the new regime. Indeed, in strict theory, he *cannot* do so, for he cannot take as his constitutional *grundnorm* an act of usurpation which, by his previous terms of reference, is illegal.

The posture of Chief Justice Udoma at the time of the Obote coup deservedly comes in for criticism and Justices Fieldsend and Young are heralded as the natural heroes of the constitutional confrontation in Rhodesia after UDI. Had he known of it, Professor Nwabueze would certainly have applauded the public refusal of the head of the Sierra Leone judiciary – in St. George's Cathedral, Freetown and face-to-face with the Head of the Military Government – to take a new oath of allegiance.

But to refuse to conform oneself to the demands of an African Government, however admirable in principle this refusal may be, is difficult in practice. One may reflect that Fieldsend and Young had to emigrate, that Skinner and other judges left Zambia after public disagreement with the Government, that Korsah (Ghana) and Mwendwa (Kenya) were sacked and that Kiwanuka (Uganda) was apparently murdered. In Africa today, independence and honesty often become more than political principles; they are the badge of personal bravery.

One wonders, too, if Professor Nwabueze is not more idealistic than realistic when he speaks of the courts' power to inhibit legislative action. 'The mere existence of the court's checking function, and the knowledge on the part of the government that a violation of the constitutional and other legal limitations might call forth its exercise, cannot fail to produce in the government a restrained and tolerant attitude towards power.' I wish I could believe this: in England it is difficult, in Africa near impossible. If a court's anti-Government decision takes only a few days to overrule by legislative decree – as was the case with the prime example in Nigeria – one wonders how much restraint and tolerance was present in the mind of the legislators.

Professor Nwabueze cannot resolve the conflict – indeed, he barely speaks of it – between his wish for an activist judiciary, and the framing of constitutional principles which are 'an expression of the moral and ethical presuppositions of the society,' not 'the product of mere personal will or the creation of judges.' Many will feel that he has been less than fair in his characterisation of many Colonial and post-Independence expatriate judges as unsuited to the kind of constitutional decision-making he wants to encourage. For myself, I would rather have a judge who knew the legal rules and was prepared to apply them honestly to the best of his limited ability, than one whose attitude was avowedly one of policy-creation but about whose political skills I felt dubious.

And it is perhaps worth remembering that constitutional decision-making is one of the least of the tasks of the African judiciary. The other judicial skills have always bulked large in the duties of a judge and will continue to do so. And so when impartiality was needed in administrative inquiries (e.g. Fuad and Russell in Uganda), when a cloud of suspicion hung over indigenous judges (e.g. in Kenya), or when there were simply no eligible local lawyers to appoint to the Bench (e.g. in Malawi and Zambia), it was the expatriate judges who brought their skills into action for the benefit of Africa.

I would also make a plea for Professor Nwabueze to consider the low-key solution. He is for constitutional adjudication in the grand manner – the conflict of State and individual resolved in litigation, no matter how cumbersome, slow and expensive a method of dispute-settlement this may be. These fire and brimstone confrontations are few and far between in Africa and it is certainly true, as Professor Nwabueze laments, that many of them have been decided in favour of the State. Yet for every one of these decisions, one can perhaps point to a hundred 'routine' decisions in criminal cases, in which the courts – without invoking any high-sounding constitutional principles but merely by manipulating the rules of evidence and the burden of proof in an old-fashioned liberal way – have presented the oppression of individual citizens by the authorities. It may be the big battles which finally win the war – but it is the small skirmishes which serve to keep the enemy at bay in the meantime.

This is an excellent piece of scholarship. One should not cavil too much. No one can quarrel with the aspirations but we should be scrupulously careful in dis-

tinguishing actuality from ideal. Africans themselves are doing the same, for Professor Nwabueze has to admit that 'common moral and ethical suppositions' are largely illusory in most developing countries. Where are they to come from? From an independent judiciary? From the individualistic aspirations of the people? Without so much as a flicker of a tongue into his cheek, Professor Nwabueze provides the answer: the ground has already been laid for 'the gradual instillation in the moral consciousness of the people' of some new 'common moral and ethical suppositions.' Political ideologies. Promulgated by the State.

ALAN MILNER

Management of Family Planning Programmes in Asia: Concepts, Issues and Approaches, Edited by IN-JOUNG WHANG, *Asian Centre for Development Administration, Malaysia,* 1976; pp 423.

This is primarily a specialist's book – focussing on the organisational, administrative and managerial aspects of family planning programmes with particular reference to the Asian region. The implications are of course of far-reaching general interest, and it is a pity that the style and presentation of the work does not make its findings and suggestions more accessible to the concerned lay reader and/or practitioner. The core material, much of which is written in the academic 'learned journal' style, and may therefore appear a little offputting to programme administrators, consists of papers presented at a meeting of FP experts convened by ACDA in Kuala Lumpur in June 1975 – attended by 26 administrators and scholars in the field. The main objective of both the meeting and the book was:

'to analyse, identify and clarify some of the management issues and problems involved in the implementation of Family Planning programmes and to develop management concept for application to the improvement of Family Planning programme implementation at the national level'. (Preface).

The 'national level' is a key phrase in this analysis, as the book is rather more concerned with the organisational overview of large-scale programmes than with action at the 'grass roots' level of the Family Planning Clinic. There are of course exceptions to this approach. For instance, in his paper on 'Administrative Constraints in implementing National Family Planning Programmes in the ESCAP region' P. S. Mohapatra takes a practical look at "certain structural elements in existing Asian programmes and their potential strengths and weaknesses" (p 208) particularly with an eye on the difficult task of generating public acceptance. Mr Mohapatra states with disarming frankness early in his paper 'A major difference between a family planning programme and other government-run community action programmes (such as those in the fields of public health, agriculture, community development, etc.) is that in the former the benefits are less obvious to the individual.' (p 192). One feels that some of the other contributions would have been improved by a recognition of this fact, rather than the adoption of what seems a fairly prevalent assumption that what is required is a reshuffle of the organisational building blocks in order to achieve a self-evident benefit. It is true that there are references to 'popular participation' throughout but they are on the whole fleeting references.

This is a scholarly and weighty tome of some 400 pages, plus a useful list of references and covers a great deal of ground. There are 15 contributions on a wide range of topics covering all aspects of organisational structure and process, management objectives and constraints, research and evaluation. There is not much unfortunately on direct relationships with clients which is where one feels many well-planned programmes go adrift. The book is however full of worthwhile facts and figures, and is burgeoning with 'blueprints' and model designs. As such it is likely to be rather more welcome to the academically oriented systems analyst than the middle rank FP administrator who is grappling with day-to-day problems of manpower shortages, resource limitation and resistant target populations. This is perhaps to criticise the book for something it does not set out to be, and in its field it is a valuable addition to the literature to be read primarily as a work of reference in the organisation and management field. Laymen should not be put off by the organisation/communication jargon which intrudes from time to time.

As a reaction against the dominant influence of demographers and medical practitioners in the design of programmes, and the conceptualisation of goals and objectives in their own terms it is a healthy widening of the debate and raises socially and politically relevant questions, which governments setting up FP programmes need to ask. As a plea for more attention to be paid to organisational questions however it sometimes indulges in overkill particularly in its emphasis on the complexity of organisational questions and solutions. The balance is somewhat redressed in the organisational analyses contained in the Annex on Country Studies where specific problems and achievements are looked at in the programmes of the Philippines, Korea, Thailand and India. This is one of the strongest sections of the book in which experience within particular country FP programmes is used to illustrate different approaches. In a sense the country studies (which cover the last 130 pages of the book) help to set in context the ideas and models of the earlier part.

The overview of Ministry arrangements for responsibility for programme planning and implementation (often associated with Ministries of Health) in different countries, which occurs throughout the book, gives helpful bases for comparison and the implications for programme peformance of different kinds of institutional arrangements are forcibly brought home. How within existing social and political structures deficient arrangements are to be changed to match up more closely to 'management by objectives' largely remains a mystery, along with encouragement of 'political will'. Nevertheless as an outline of crucial problem areas, of areas of conflict and potential dysfunction the book has great merits. The emphasis on 'decentralisation' of control is one such problem area; lack of proper management techniques and training another; lack of suitable measurements of task performance another; and lack of efficient feedback mechanisms another. The suggestion that reliance on foreign aid resources and foreign experts' 'blueprints' has impaired efficient allocation of *local* programme and human resources, is a criticism which has to be taken very seriously in consideration of short-term and long-term goals. The need to demonstrate tangible impact of programmes may put the 'short-term efficiency of the distribution of contraceptives' before the 'long-term impact on the

fertility of the society' (p 15). This theme appears throughout, particularly in relation to all forms of 'target setting'. Discussion of different forms of 'delivery systems' also bears relation to this theme, and helps to pinpoint why, with some notable exceptions, 'actual results achieved by the family planning programmes of most Asian countries have been very disappointing'.

One wonders whether this relates also to the definition of primary objectives in most cases as 'fertility control' rather than 'family health and welfare' which is rather putting the cart before the horse. The 'hard line' approach is obliquely criticised throughout as counter productive to some of the wider goals, but there seems to be an implied assumption that more hangs on reformulation of management objectives and better application of management strategies than on re-examination of overall programme goals. Nor can it be assumed that more activities in IEC (Information, Education and Communication) and more motivation will necessarily succeed in creating demand for services unless the programme goals are meaningful to ordinary people in the wider socio-eonomic context. This seemed to be a missing component in some of the early papers, which in focussing on the organisation system lost sight of or at least got out of focus, the interacting structures and processes *outside* in the wider world. This is surely an oversight when one is talking about ways of effecting changes in individual behaviour in terms of basic family building and family relationships?

Certainly much of what is written about problems of 'bureaucratisation' of activities and lack of proper evaluation and feedback is relevant to this debate and valuable in heightening awareness of organisational deficiencies in a wide variety of spheres. But for some the analysis will appear a little lopsided without examination of some of the wider sociological issues related to 'take up' from the consumers' point of view.

JOAN CHAPMAN

Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries, Edited by LAURENCE D. STIFFEL, JAMES S. COLEMAN and JOSEPH E. BLACK: *A Special Report from the Rockefeller Foundation, New York.*

In August 1976 twenty public management education and training specialists from the developed and the developing worlds spent four days at the Rockefeller Study Centre in Bellagio, Italy, comparing notes on alternative ways of developing public managers. A selection of the papers presented at Bellagio has now been published as a special report. The Conference Report is an invaluable record of the concerns of a group whose experience and lessons have been gained in the tough job of implementing field projects and establishing programmes and institutions in Third World countries for the development of public sector management. One of the purposes of the Conference was to help the Foundation to think about its future activities. The Conference therefore focussed on 'a manageable range of problems and issues' – namely education and training provided in post-secondary institutions of developing countries for top and middle level management in the public development sectors particularly those of agriculture, health and education.

The term 'public management' originally adopted by the Ford Foundation to embrace both public administration and development planning is intended to stress the entrepreneurial and creative tasks of the administrator rather than the traditional ones of implementation and maintenance. The Conference papers do a useful job in exploring the nature of public management at a time when the lack of effective practitioners must be held to account for the repeated failure in the Third World of so many programmes and projects for economic and social development.

The nine papers in the Report are divided into three groups. The first group has two papers dealing with management requirements in the sectors of population and agriculture, the second group assesses Western management models and their transferability and the final group reviews strategies and experience in the process of institutionalising public management education. The first paper by Dr David Korten (of Harvard's Institute for International Development) is based on his wide experience working with population planning agencies in developing countries pioneering the use of practices and methods drawn from such management functions as marketing, finance and organisation. He expresses strong doubts about management training for medical and family planning specialists in advance of organisational change the object of which should be to promote community involvement and the best use of specialist skills. Dr Dwight Brothers (of the International Agricultural Development Service in New York) in his paper on the agricultural sector provides an interesting comparative review of experience with programmes for agricultural development in Botswana, Brazil, Indonesia and Nepal. Both papers provide useful reviews of the management functions in the two key development sectors of population planning and agriculture.

The second group of four papers on Western management education models includes two excellent ones – the first by Professor Gabino Mendoza (Dean of the Institute of Management in Manila) and the other by Dr Jon Moris who is currently working with the University of Dar es Salaam as an agricultural educationalist. Both papers address themselves to the same question – how transferable are Western management models? Mendoza's thoughtful paper sets out to identify a system of management compatible with the cultural values of South East Asia. Moris with a wealth of experience in working on field projects in East Africa gives an insiders' view on the idiosyncracies of African administrtion believing it to be often healthy enough to resist 'externally induced' techniques which frequently follow the superficial diagnosis of the visiting expert. Of the other two papers in this Section on Public Education Models Dr William Siffin (Director of Indiana University's International Development Research Centre) reviews the two decades of the US public administration programme which led to the establishment or development of 70 administrative training institutions around the world. His own part in the efforts of this period to transfer tools, techniques and organisational structures with their accompanying values into contexts fundamentally different to his own gives a special meaning to the question he poses – what have we learnt? The other paper by Dr Samuel Paul (Director of the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad) provides a framework for curriculum planning in public management. This is good standard academic stuff and complements Mendoza's philosophising,

Moris's pragmatism and Siffin's experience. However it has yet to be proved that the institution based offering of the academic planner is the best way for the manager to learn how to cope with his turbulent and uncertain environment where the skills of a politician may enable him to survive more usefully.

In the last section one paper by Dr Kamla Chowdry (Programme Adviser on Public Management to the Ford Foundation in India) and another by Dr Oladipupo Adamolekun (Head of the University of Ife's Public Administration Department) deal with the efforts in their own countries to establish systems and institutions for the development of managers demanded in massive numbers by large-scale programmes of rapid industrialisation. Both provide case histories which offer useful lessons for policy makers and for management educationalists. The final paper of the Report by Dr Francis Sutton (of the Ford Foundation's International Division) believes that the current shift by many international agencies into more limited programmes of support for the development of public management – such as the Ford Foundation's current emphasis upon developing a particular country's capability for 'diagnosis and analysis' – has its own rewards. These are 'protection against the hazards of unwise intrusions' and the 'satisfactions of sharing in explorations in which there is ultimate uncertainty as to who is teaching and who is learning'. Wise words from someone with unrivalled experience in aiding the development of managers and administrators in the Third World.

Given the limited aim of the Conference to deal mainly with institute-based education and training for public managers the Report provides one of the most useful to be published by an international agency in recent years. It is well worth reading if only for the two papers by Mendoza and Moris. For those training Third World administrators in either the developed or the developing countries and for those practising public administration in developing countries it will help them to come to terms with the ideas and practices in the emergent field of public management.

ERIC NEWBIGGING

Trade and Developing Countries, KATHRYN MORTON and PETER TULLOCH; *Croom Helms, London, in association with the Overseas Development Institute,* 1977; pp 379; £9.95.

This handy *vade mecum* from two seasoned operators is likely to find its way into the hands of undergraduates as a textbook for courses on international trade (giving applied/descriptive/institutional background) and officials, businessmen and journalists as a reference work. The price looks high but the more cost-conscious among the latter group should compare it with the cost of hiring a man-hour's time of an economist or consultant to explain a particular point, or having a breif done on the issue. For the book is directly accessible to the non-specialist, and the information – facts, figures and brief balanced discussion – is in a highly digestible form to the student and practitioner.

It starts with a discussion of the interaction between trade and development and gives some space to the 'gains from trade' debate. There follows an account of the

main institutions in international trade which, taken together with the useful glossary, will be of great value to the layman venturing into this area. Chapters ensue on the position of primary commodities, temperate foodstuffs, and manufactured goods, with a discussion of various policy measures that have been tried, or proposed, for increasing LDC (less developed country) exports of these items. In view of the influence of foreign private companies on the size, composition and direction of LDC's exports, this issue has a chapter of its own. Finally, there are chapters on financial flows related to trade, trade amongst developing countries, and the New International Economic Order.

The book is heavy with facts. Perhaps inevitably much UNCTAD data are used, and the organisation of the material often calls to mind UNCTAD agenda. The treatment is often dour, and this is definitely a book to dip into rather than try to consume at one sitting. Apart from the appendices, bibliography and glossary, the text contains 60 pages of tables, reproducing GATT, UNCTAD, IMF data, etc. One of the snags of including so much statistical data is that the book will soon begin to show its age – and much of the GATT and UNCTAD data is itself produced several years in arrears. Until that built-in obsolescence takes effect this excellent work of reference deserves wide circulation.

Any book which claims a degree of comprehensiveness invites one to think of omissions. One such is the absence of any systematic discussion of the alleged bias against LDC exporters from speculation and future trading, the location of many commodity markets in importing centres, the practices of liner conferences, etc. This would have been useful empirical material to incorporate into the more theoretical discussion of the gains from trade.

Again, it would have been interesting to have the authors' views on future trends in the composition and direction of international trade. The hint on p 121 that LDCs might move resources out of production for export into the production of food for domestic consumption is worth further discussion. (LDCs as a group have a disappointing record in producing food for their own consumption.) Sub-contracting, the rapidly growing element in LDC exports of manufactures, is treated with a brevity which belies its importance.

The tone of the book is resoundingly pragmatic, and is captured in a concluding passage: 'participation in trade brings costs as well as benefits and trade-based projects and strategies should be evaluated accordingly . . . it is essential that international trade should be regarded neither as a panacea nor as an invention of "foreign devils" but as an instrument of development.'

J. T. WINPENNY

The History of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, SIR WILLIAM RENDALL; *Heinemann Educational* 1976; pp 294; £8.00

Putting the kindest complexion on it, the Rendall history of the Commonwealth Development Corporation cannot, either for readability or adrenalin supply, hold

a candle to the Berrill Think-Tank report of still unblessed memory. Stolid and unemotional, it has all the makings of a Top People's house journal. Underplaying wrath where wrath was justified, leaving the significance of the clash of Whitehall personalities to be judged by the knowledgeable alone, and soft-pedalling the Corporation's real and exciting achievements, the author seems determined to dessicate his own true love.

More's the pity since, after a number of false starts (among which the notorious groundnuts scheme must not be numbered), the Corporation has proved a rare success. Undercapitalised from its birth in 1948; hedged around with restrictions imposed from the word 'go' by Parliament, the Treasury and Colonial Office; staffed initially by men with a sense of mission it faced the daunting task – in a rapidly changing colonial world – of 'doing good but not to lose money doing it'.

As with so many noble aims born out of hasty post-war enthusiasm the Corporation soared off on a flight towards near disaster. An accumulation of ill-conceived projects led to a mounting hill of indebtedness. Later, a sordid snipers' war broke out between civil servants and Corporation officers. The time-scale for independence in the colonial territories of Africa was lamentably misjudged and the Colonial Office fought a costly, losing battle designed to prevent CDC from operating in newly-independent countries of the Commonwealth. At this crucial phase of the Corporation's life, Lord Reith, appointed almost as a Receiver in 1950, proved to be once more in his element. By the time he reluctantly handed on the torch in 1963 to Lord Howick the 'Colonial' had become the 'Commonwealth' Development Corporation; lost causes had largely been written off; a *sane modus vivendi* had been reached between the short-lived Commonwealth Relations Office and officers of CDC; the Corporation's finances had been put on a firm base and 'doing good without losing money doing it' had become a reality.

One of the first success stories, saved from imminent disaster in the early 1960s, proved to be the Swaziland irrigation scheme involving much increased sugar, rice and citrus production, combined with the creation of an agricultural management college. Another was support, both prior to and after independence outside the Commonwealth, for the Cameroun Development Corporation, whose 54,000-acre schemes, managed by CDC, of banana, rubber, oil palm, tea and cocoa plantations have since revolutionised the economy of that anglo-francophone cultural test-bed in Africa. The 1960s brought other success stories: among them housing schemes in Malaysia, oil palm developments in Sarawak and the Solomons and tea-growing projects in East and Central Africa.

Those who, like this reviewer, have had the chance of inspecting one or more such projects, can only pay tribute to both the Corporation's economic and scientific efficiency and to its deft handling of governments and local staffs alike.

Sir William Rendall has been frank in weighing failures and near misses against the Corporation's tally of success. The opening years were gloomy to the point of total shipwreck. Neither Whitehall nor Parliament nor CDC itself can in retrospect

think proudly of the first decade. But thanks to Reith, to the modest author himself and to many CDC officers in the field, the Corporation has not only risen from its own death-bed but taken a new lease of life. Perhaps the greatest long-term benefit to be extracted from this all too uptight history is the lesson how not to launch and treat an organisation whose remit it was, with minimum encouragement from its founding fathers, to pull those fathers' chestnuts from the fire.

As things turned out, sound management, localisation of projects stemming from successful training schemes, and a latterly happy relationship between the Corporation and the Ministry of Overseas Development have placed CDC firmly on the road to a successful future.

J.C.

Urban Housing in the Third World, GEOFFREY PAYNE; *Leonard Hill, London*; pp 242; £8.00.

To call this book 'Urban Housing in the Third World', is equivalent to calling a well-known book by D. H. Lawrence, 'Some Aspects of Game-Keeping in the Early Twentieth Century'. A more appropriate title would have been: 'A Brief Dissertation upon Various Theories Concerning Third World Urban Development, with Reference to Many Other Academics, Coupled with a Lengthy Quasi-Mathematical Spatial Analysis of Two Settlements in Delhi', to which are Appended 'Some Thoughts on Possible Urban Futures', a title which describes the subject matter and reflects the author's turgid prose style.

In my view purchasers of £8 books are entitled to expect:

1 Good photographic reproduction – most of the photographs are badly reproduced.
2 Accurate proof-reading – 'now' for 'not' (just one instance) reverses a sentence's meaning. 'Case' for 'caste' needs no comment.
3 Clear diagrams – several are partially illegible, and their captions meaningless.
4 Good grammar – and clear writing – several important sentences, because of the convoluted style, simply do not make sense.

The 80 page opening section is essentially a dissertation on the literature of Third World urban development, with 227 references (228 were intended but 1/53 is missing).

I would be the first to admit that Mr Payne is widely read. He is not, though, discriminating. Contradictory viewpoints rub shoulders without comment and the general tone descends to the worst levels of intellectual in-fighting. (As compensation we are offered the mind-boggling concept of 'the early mid-1960s, 1962½?).'

The bulk of the book is a case study of two areas in Delhi, one a squatter settlement established over the last 25 years, the other quarters to house imported 'lump' labour. The studies break down into several elements, most significantly a spatial analysis. Seven groups of dwellings were surveyed in great detail. Each was meas-

ured to determine the 'total area of cluster' – to an implied accuracy of 1 in 10,000. (After grammar lessons I would recommend a course in statistics.) The space outside the houses was then analysed to establish what functions it supported. (Why 'others' which contributed 0.00 sq.m. in six cases, was included I cannot think.)

The areas occupied by these functions were then aggregated, divided by the area of the dwellings and, Lo and Behold! An efficiency ratio – the *sine qua non* of creative squatting. Like all fairy tales it all comes right in the end. On page 117 we read: 'Those areas . . . which possess (*sic*) . . . a high efficiency ratio, were (*sic*) the areas that put the available space to the most use. Golly!

So that's OK. We can all go home satisfied that we've got to grips with the problem.

Possible Urban Futures? We are told that proposals based on European experience are often irrelevant – scarcely an original observation. One irony is that during the presumably lengthy gestation period of this book European thinking has altered so drastically that it is now respectable to propose solutions to London's housing problems which are, in many important respects, indistinguishable from those posited for Delhi in this book.

I'm afraid that, despite a concerted attempt, I cannot take this book seriously. I suspect that its fundamental lack of clarity of style and presentation stem from a lack of clarity of intent.

GEOFFREY TAUNTON

Urban Housing Strategies – Education and Realisation, P. I. WAKELY, H. SCHMETZER and B. MUMTAZ; *Pitman*, 1976; pp 117; £4.95.

In the past the private house-building industry in Third World countries has constructed homes for the wealthy; official housing programmes have tended to concentrate on the needs of those in the public service – civil servants, the police and the military; whilst the poor and under-privileged, in the absence of government help and guidance, have developed their own informal, illegal, unplanned solutions – solutions which have been either resisted or ignored by the authorities.

At the same time 'housing' was generally considered by economists to be 'non-productive' in development terms, and rarely if ever figured in international and bi-lateral programmes of financial aid and technical co-operation.

The situation has since changed. Today most programmes of co-operation with developing countries are considered in social as well as economic terms, and are designed to help improve the situation of the poorest members of society, with special emphasis now being placed on housing provision, particularly that of a site-and-service nature.

The Development Planning Unit, University College, London, has been in the

forefront of those agencies recognising the importance of 'housing' in relation to human need, employment generation and development, and has given the subject an important place in its teaching programmes designed to assist developing countries to solve problems resulting from their too-rapid, unbalanced and uncontrolled urban growth.

In 1972 an experimental service was introduced, small groups of DPU staff visiting overseas teaching institutions for brief periods, and co-operating with them in the study of housing problems and approaches to their solution, as part of the education process. This book describes the first three years of this DPU experiment, and is divided into two complementary parts; the first providing a background to the subject of Housing in the Third World and describing the kind of process followed at each visit; the second presenting some of the techniques and exercises which were found to be useful.

The approach adopted by the DPU is based on informal, project-based methods, and on an understanding of the needs and wishes of people, rather than on more normal design methods and construction techniques. Although the whole emphasis during the initial three years was on 'housing', in practice the same approach could be applied to virtually any aspect of the planning and development process. Also, it is equally as relevant to those working within government departments and agencies as it is to those in teaching institutions.

This book, which reflects the general philosophy and work of the Development Planning Unit, is an interesting and valuable one which could be read, with advantage, by any concerned with planning and development issues in developing countries. Its success, and that of the approach it illustrates, depends not only on the continued use of the DPU 'extension service', but on the extent to which the methods and ideas put forward in the book are disseminated, understood, adopted and applied in practice.

It seems strange therefore that it should have been published in this relatively expensive hard-back form, with all rights reserved, and no form of reproduction permitted without the prior written agreement of the publishers.

Bearing in mind the principal aims and objectives of the Development Planning Unit where the Third World is concerned, more might have been gained if the publication could have been produced more cheaply, in soft-back form; with freedom of reproduction–providing the source is acknowledged; and with some way found of ensuring its ready availability to relevant teaching institutions and government departments in developing countries.

GEORGE FRANKLIN

The Banyan Tree, HUGH TINKER; *Oxford University Press*; Index; pp 204; £5.00

Professor Tinker writes with great knowledge of the background and with great sympathy and deep understanding of the problems faced by overseas emigrants

from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. His purpose, he says, is 'to get British people of all kinds to consider what it is like to be a British or Commonwealth citizen if one's father came from South Asia' where 'emigration is almost an irrelevance in the struggle for economic survival and betterment' – emigrants all over the world, number perhaps some six million or so out of an Asian population of about 700 million. 'If the numbers from overseas were doubled or trebled it would make little difference to the problems at home.' Small in the context of Asia's millions, nonetheless Asian immigrants are to be found in many lands.

Indian majorities in Fiji and Mauritius, and in Guyana, an advancing Indian percentage in the Trinidadian population; a significant element in Western Malaysia, Singapore and Sri Lanka (where the Tamil are now grimly isolated) – elsewhere, population-wise, they form a small, sensitive group – in political terms, marginal to the rest of the community. The South Asians numbers in 53 countries listed, as at 1971. Since then East African figures have markedly declined and Denmark among European countries has begun to offer a new homeland.

Even where they have been domiciled for centuries Indians are still classified as 'different' – some see this as an economic/class distinction, others as racial and cultural; be that as it may, the 'difference' perpetuates their vulnerability.

Hugh Tinker skillfully sketches the story of Asian emigrants to Burma, Sri Lanka, Guyana, Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa and East Africa. Short-lived political success in Guyana is defeated with the aid of a suspect quantity of overseas voters, since then Burnham has been happy for Jagan to stay as a well-remunerated opposition leader – a cautionary presence for Western powers who might wish to curtail their local aid programmes. Trinidad and Fiji saw political failure but so far at least no forced re-emigration. Sri Lanka has become gloomier for Tamils since the book was written; while harsher than Amin and in far greater numbers, Burma expelled the great majority of her Indians cloaking racism by nationalism. All hope of political progress in South Africa ended with the defeat of Smuts. Only Mauritius has seen the Indian majority gain and retain political powers though there too, the situation has worsened. In East Africa 'Asians were caught in the situation known (as) the "self-fulfilling prophecy" (where) people precipitate the situation they most dread by taking action to forestall that situation'. 'They were caught in a post-colonial vortex in which they were almost helpless'. The Uganda nightmare followed and this may well have induced neighbouring Kenya and Tanzania to proceed more gently.

In a final chapter 'the Hope of Integration' major attention is directed to Great Britain where the Asians are still in a transitional stage. Despite 'a liberal hour' despite a notable lack of vindictiveness when Bhutto took Pakistan out of the Commonwealth, despite widespread sympathy at the plight of the Uganda Asians, by and large it is still a desperate struggle to avoid second-class status as citizens; a doctor from Pakistan may be welcome in staff-short areas. Tyneside for example – but less welcome in the prosperous south. This situation encourages Asians to withdraw into their own community instead of moving towards closer integration.

However surveys of the close 1974 general elections indicated that labour won vital marginal seats with the help of West Indian and Asian voters and this 'has encouraged a new solicitude for Asians and West Africans' by tories and labour alike. But loyalties remain divided – India does not regard those in East Africa who renounced Indian citizenship as having a claim on the Motherland, and so many Asians have clung to their 'home' citizenship, even after many years residence in Britain. The leadership which High Commissioners could well have given, but only A. B. Pant saw fit to give, has not been forthcoming – they give 'speeches extolling Gandhi, Jinnah, Iqbal and Tagore, but they give no guidance on the vexed question of immigrants' loyalties.

All those who are concerned with the well-being of immigrant Asians should read this book – so should politicians of all parties in all the Western Democracies and countries of the New Commonwealth. There is a mote to be found and a mote to be plucked out.

P.H.J.

Author's Rejoinder

Dr Michale Lipton has sent us the following comments on Dr Nigel Harris' review of *Why People Stay Poor* which appeared in our July 1977 issue

Harris argues that the nation-state must militarise to survive, and must industrialise to militarise. However, he should not abuse a book-review to develop his argument at the cost of distorting or ignoring the contents of the book.

Harris writes, "By 'urban' [Lipton] seems to mean rich, capitalistic, ruling-order, and by 'rural' poor or oppressed". At no point in the book do I write or 'seem to mean' this. The urban-rural dichotomy, and alternatives, are considered on pp 56-63. Detailed evidence of its size, trends and historical increase appear in Chapter 5 and the associated tables. Its relation to other dichotomies not asserted 'without demonstration' (Harris) is discussed, with evidence on pp 163-173.

Harris accuses me of "moralising about psychological deviations or 'vested interests'." I nowhere use or imply either of these terms or concepts. On pp 65-6 I explain why it is natural and normal (not deviant) for scholars and policymakers to reveal 'urban bias as a state of mind'. At many points I identify the groups who gain and lose from urban-biased allocations; but even a reference to the index would show my strenuous dissociation from 'moralising'. (Thus p 68: 'There is nothing wicked or conspiratorial about [the price squeeze on agriculture]. It is the natural play of self-interest and power, only obfuscated by moralising from outside – *cosi fan tutti*, moralisers as well'.)

Harris criticises the 'nebulous' and "extraordinarily weak concept of 'urban bias'." He ignores Chapter 2, which defines urban bias as the tendency of a socio-political system to allocate, to the urban sector, shares (of scarce resources) that exceed norms of efficiency and equity. These norms are then themselves defined. The rest of the book largely comprises evidence that this tendency exists, and explanations of why it exists.

Harris asks, 'Why are the returns higher]upon urban investment] when . . . agriculture has a higher potential return?' and replies that 'factor pricing' is to blame, as if I were denying this. Yet Chapter 13, 'Price Twists', comprises a detailed analysis of the ways in which factor prices (and, at least as important, the prices of intermediates, credit, foreign exchange, and end-products) are intersectorally distorted against rural activities, so that the inducement to invest in such activities declines. But the really important question is: why do so many less-developed countries – with widely differing political systems – tilt prices, public-sector resource allocations, and policies heavily in favour of urban dwellers? That is the question my book tries to answer. To make 'factor pricing' the *prime mover*, even with the power-urges of a Hobbesian (and monolithic?) nation-state in the background, does not seem to me a sufficient or even very useful approach.

Nor does Harris differ from me when he distinguishes development from an increase in welfare. 'On any sensible interpretation of development as modernising structural change, the poor countries have enjoyed more development in the past two decades than in the previous two millenia [, while] the condition of the really poor has undergone little improvement' (p 28). Harris writes that 'failure to improve popular welfare is not evidence that . . . in due time, real incomes of the majority will not improve (the more developed countries took a remarkably long time to improve mass real incomes)', yet an extended discussion (pp 32-43) is devoted to showing why today's developing countries, in the presence of urban bias, are unlikely to follow this path of delayed equalisation. Here as elsewhere, the question is not whether Harris or Lipton is right, but whether the reviewer has read the book and engaged the arguments presented in it.

For example, Harris writes that I 'conceal the powerful, and in many cases decisive, role of the rural rich'. On p 97 I write: 'Central to this book is the shared interest of urban worker, urban employer and big surplus farmer in ample food for the cities . . . Compromise [on food prices] is possible because policy decisions steer such resources . . . as go to agriculture largely towards the big farmer – who . . . in return . . . supplies the city with fairly cheap food'. That is part of one of several discussions of how the 'urban alliance' functions, in different contexts, to raise the big farmer's share of *rural* income. A reviewer may challenge the author's logic or evidence, but should not ignore them.

Harris's own use of evidence must be questioned, in view of his bald assertion that in India "the government seems to have had a consistent 'rural bias' since 1960-61." In that period, agriculture (which engaged 70 per cent of the workforce to produce about 45 per cent of GNP) has received barely 20 per cent of both public and private investment; policies, especially regarding foreign trade and exchange, ensured that farmers bought dearer and sold cheaper than would have been the case at international prices; and almost all the relevant human resources, from doctors and teachers through engineers to administrators, were very substantially overallocated to the cities. Yet most poor countries show far more serious misallocations; India 'shows up' only because her data base, domestic scholarship, and intellectual honesty are big enough to reveal them clearly.

Book Notes

The Lion and the Unicorn, FREDERICK PEDLER, *Heineman, London*; illustrated, maps, index; pp 343; £8.50.

Sir Frederick Pedler was uniquely qualified to write this fascinating history of the United Africa Company and he has produced what will surely be a standard work of reference for students and historians concerned with economic development of West Africa and of Nigeria in particular.

A miscellany of pioneer traders competing with each other and struggling for the best obtainable share of a variable market, some happily, some reluctantly, but mostly through inevitable economic pressures began to merge until Lever Brothers acquired control of the Niger Group and finally of the Eastern Trade Corporation, a process Pedler describes as one of vertical integration, and the United Africa Company was reconstructed within the Unilever Empire. Unilever finance enabled its African companies to survive the disaster of the 1930/31 depression – it did not obtain the monopoly position of which many accused it, but it did achieve the defensive strength to withstand any economic challenge.

From the Kings and the Swamzys to William Hesketh Lever, the West African trade attracted and needed to survive, determined businessmen with foresight and courage. West Africa owes much to their enterprise and Frederick Pedler has done them proud.

Archives Administration, MICHAEL COOK; *Dawson*; bibliography and index; pp 258; £10.00

This book is sub-titled 'A Manual for Intermediate and Smaller Organisations and for Local Government'.

So immense is the volume of records of every conceivable description that the maintenance of archives has become a radically changed occupation since World War Two. Administrators and researchers call for constant access to archive services and unless their management is well organised, delay, frustration indeed chaos can ensue. Michael Cook is therefore to be complemented on producing this admirable manual. While the content is almost entirely British, the lessons taught are of general application and this is certainly a volume to be warmly commended to all those in central and local government, universities, commerce and industry in the anglophone Third World who wish to ensure that their activities organisation will meet the needs of their countries – record-keepers for the long-term future even more than for the immediate years ahead.

Ethnicity and Military Rule in Uganda, HOLGER BERNT HANSEN; pp 144.

Mozambique and Angola: Reconstruction in the Social Sciences, BERTIL EGERO; pp 76.

Both these research reports have been published by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, and both describe totalitarian regimes, one of the right and the other of the left. Hansen makes rather heavy weather of his Uganda study. Tyrants fear and oppress those whom they suspect of 'disloyalty'. They tend to place their trust in fellow tribesmen, paid mercenaries – those who owe them most for their advancement. There is no mention here of Libyan support for Amin and from the mealy-mouthed style, a casual reader would scarcely be aware that the author is describing a harsh, cruel military regime.

As Egero points out in his foreword, events in Mozambique and Angola move fast and, besides, there are unavoidable gaps in the information collected. In fact the report would seem premature and it would have been more useful to have allowed a year or two more to have elapsed before finalising a serious research project such as this, for what emerges scarcely seems worth the effort.

Open Government – The British Interpretation, RONALD WRAITH; *Royal Institute of Public Administration*; appendix; pp 74; £1.90.

The theme of this short essay – official secrets policy – does not allow Ronald Wraith scope for his usually most felicitous pen. As he points out, while many a citizen is 'irritated by the sealed lips of those in authority', nonetheless those who seek to get something done through a public body 'knows that without confidentiality the purpose of that body could not be achieved'.

Few will disagree with Ronald Wraith when he concludes that albeit ill-defined 'open government' has become a banner under which many are now prepared to march and there is probably no going back.

Social Welfare in Cyprus, JOHN TRISELIOTIS; *Zeno, London,* 1977; pp 179; £3.40.

Dr Triseliotis is a senior lecturer at Edinburgh University. He had previously been involved in setting up the personal social services system in Cyprus, and Greek-speaking, he was able in five months hard work to obtain an overall picture of social welfare in Cyprus that would have been hard for others lacking his background. His story ends with the Turkish invasion which inevitably changed local social priorities to the welfare of the refugee population.

Unlike many other newly independent countries Cyprus possessed a large number of better educated people and a well-organised and disciplined civil service. The author draws attention to 'a fairly comprehensive and sophisticated social insurance scheme providing many benefits', which has been built up, to an expanded education system, to inadequate health services and negligible public programmes albeit extravagant infrastructure was avoided. Improvement has been made in the State/voluntary, agency relationship, and finally, to the development of social planning policies to meet the island's social needs.

This is a well-balanced study, clearly written and as the author himself hopes, relevant to other recently independent countries to whose social planners this volume can be recommended.

Meeting Human Needs – Additional Pespectives from Thirteen Countries,

DANIEL THURSZ and JOSEPH L. VIGILANTE (eds); *Sage Publications*; subject index; pp 286; £12.65 cloth; £5.70 paper.

The author in this second volume on the subject, reviews the social service delivery systems. To the first 9, 13 more countries are now added, covering in all a sample from western iron curtain and developing countries. The editors provide an overviewing final chapter in which they find that the *importance of human values* in the organising of their record service systems is predominant in most countries, relatively wide gaps exist between needs and services, in many countries the trend is towards the decentralization of these services, systems in force have sprung up haphazardly as a result of crisis or urgent need, policy makers are still divided as to the right course to adopt – some preferring a communal and others an institutional approach. They see a danger that seeking to improve the effectiveness of social service staff through university education can lead to better services for the better off rather than for those who are most in need.

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